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THE

REMAINS

OF

THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED

BY

THE REV. HENRY JENKYN, M.A.

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.



IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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COLLECTION OF TENETS

EXTRACTED FROM

THE CANON LAW,

SHEWING

THE EXTRAVAGANT PRETENSIONS OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME^a.]

^b*Dist. 22*: "Omnes." *De major. et obedient.*: "Solitæ." MSS. Stillington fleet.
Extrav. de majorit. et obedient.: "Unam sanctam." Lamb. libr. 1107.
HE that knowledgeth not himself to be under the bishop of Rome, and that the bishop of Rome is ordained by God C. C. C. C. CCCXL p.

^a [Burnet inserts these extracts under the year 1544, connecting them with an act then passed "for the examination of canon laws." They are placed here on the authority of the following passage from Strype: "One of the first things wherein the archbishop shewed his good service to the church, was done in the parliament in the latter end of this year, 1533. When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was propounded, then the old collections of the new archbishop did him good service; for the chief, and in a manner the whole burden of this weighty cause was laid upon his shoulders." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 32. These "old collections" are probably those which are still preserved at Lambeth under the title of *Archbishop Cranmer's Collection of Laws*. They were formed, perhaps, while he resided at Cambridge, and consist of a large number of passages, extracted at length from the canon law, and followed by that short summary of some of its most remarkable doctrines which is here printed. They were doubtless of great use in the discussions alluded to by Strype; but that was not the only nor the first occasion, in which they supplied the archbishop with arguments. He must have already availed himself of them, when in stating to the king his unwillingness to accept the see of Canterbury, he "disclosed therewithal the intolerable usurpation of the pope of Rome." See his *Examination before Brokes*. And he frequently recurs to them in his subsequent writings, particularly in the *Answer to the Devonshire Rebels*, 1549, and in his long *Letter to queen Mary*, in September, 1555.]

^b [These are references to the several parts of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, from which the positions are extracted.]

Burn. Ref. to have primacy over all the world, is an heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the flock of Christ.
 Append.
 vol. i. b. 3.
 n. 27.

Dist. 10. De sententia excommunicationis: "Noverit."
 25. q. 1: "Omne."

Princes laws, if they be against the canons and decrees of the bishop of Rome, be of no force nor strength.

Dist. 19. 20. 24. q. 1: "A recta:" "Memor:" "Quo-
 "tiens:" "Hæc est." 25. q. 1: "Generali:" "Viola-
 "tores."

All the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, without any repugnance, as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the catholic faith, nor the four evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

25. q. 1: "Generali."

All kings, bishops, and noblemen, that believe or suffer the bishop of Rome's decrees in any thing to be violate, be accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the catholic faith.

Dist. 21: "Quamvis." 24. q. 1: "A recta." "Memor."

The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

25. q. 1: "Ideo." *De senten. et re judicata, lib. 6:* "Ad
 "apostolicæ." *De jurejurando, lib. 6:* "Licet."

The bishop of Rome is not bound to any decrees, but he may compel, as well the clergy as laymen, to receive his decrees and canon-law.

9. q. 3: "Ipsi:" "Cuncta:" "Nemo." 2. q. 6: "Dudum."
 9. q. 3: "Aliorum." 17. q. 4: "Si quis." *De baptis. et
 ejus effectu:* "Majores."

The bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all men,

and specially to discern the articles of the faith, and that without any council, and may assoil them that the council hath damned; but no man hath authority to judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither emperor, king, people, nor the clergy: and it is not lawful for any man to dispute of his power.

*Dist. 97: "Duo sunt." 15. q. 6: "Alius." "Nos sancto-
rum : "Juratos." De hæreticis, lib. 6: "Ut officium."*

The bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, depose them from their states, and assoil their subjects from their oath and obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.

*De major. et obedient.: "Solitæ." Clement. de sententia et
re judicata: "Pastoralis."*

The emperor is the bishop of Rome's subject, and the bishop of Rome may revoke the emperor's sentence in temporal causes.

De elect. et electi potestate: "Venerabilem."

It belongeth to the bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the emperor after he is elected; and he may translate the empire from one region to another.

De supplenda negligent. prælat. lib. 6: "Grandi."

The bishop of Rome may appoint coadjutors unto princes.

*Dist. 17: "Synodum:" "Regula:" "Nec licuit:" "Multis:"
"Concilia." Dist. 96: "Ubinam."*

There can be no council of bishops without the authority of the see of Rome; and the emperor ought not to be present at the council, except when matters of the faith be entreating which belong universally to every man.

2. q. 6.

Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.

9. q. 3: "Aliorum." *Dist.* 40: "Si papa." *Dist.* 96: "Satis."

The bishop of Rome may be judged of none but of God only; for although he neither regard his own salvation, nor no man's else, but draw down with himself innumerable people by heaps unto hell; yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him: forsomuch as he is called God, he may be judged of no man; for God may be judged of no man.

24. q. 2.

The bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven unto men.

Dist. 40: "Non nos."

The see of Rome receiveth holy men, or else maketh them holy.

De pœnitentia. Dist. 1: "Serpens."

He that maketh a lye to the bishop of Rome committeth sacrilege.

De consecrat. Dist. 1: "De locorum:" "Præcepta:" "Ecclesia." *De elect. et electi potestate, lib.* 6: "Fundamenta."

To be senator, captain, patricius, governor, or officer of Rome, none shall be elected or pointed, without the express license and special consent of the see of Rome.

De electione et electi potestate: "Venerabilem."

It appertaineth to the bishop of Rome to judge, which oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

De jurejurand.: "Si vero." 15. q. 6: "Auctoritatem."

And he may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and absolve from other oaths that ought to be kept.

De foro competent.: "Ex tenore." *De donat. inter virum et uxorem:* "De prudentia." *Qui filii sunt legit:* "Per venerabilem." *De elect. et electi potestate:* "Fundamenta." *Extravag. de majorit. et obedient.:* "Unam sanctam." *De judiciis:* "Novit."

The bishop of Rome is judge in temporal things, and hath two swords, spiritual and temporal.

Clement. de hæreticis: "Multorum."

The bishop of Rome may give authority to arrest men, and imprison them in manacles and fetters.

Extrav. de consuetudine: "Super gentes."

The bishop of Rome may compel princes to receive his legates.

De truga et pace: "Trugas."

It belongeth also to him to appoint and command peace and truce to be observed and kept, or not.

De præbend. et dign.: "Dilectus." *Et, lib. 6:* "Licet."

The collation of all spiritual promotions appertain to the bishop of Rome.

De excessibus prælatorum: "Sicut unire."

The bishop of Rome may unite bishoprics together, and put one under another at his pleasure.

Lib. 6. de pænis: "Felicis."

In the chapter "Felicis," *lib. 6. de pænis*, is the most partial and unreasonable decree made by Bonifacius 8. that ever was read or heard, against them that be adversaries to any cardinal of Rome, or to any clerk or religious man of the bishop of Rome's family.

Dist. 28: "Consulendum." *Dist. 96:* "Si imperator." 11.

q. 1: "Quod clericus:" "Nemo:" "Nullus:" "Clericum," &c.

Et, q. 2: "Quod vero." *De sentent. excommunication. lib.*

6: "Si iudex." 2. *q. 5:* "Si quis." *De foro competent.:*

"Nullus:" "Si quis:" "Ex transmissa." *De foro compet.*

lib. 6: "Seculares."

Laymen may not be judges to any of the clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted debts, but the bishops only must be their judges.

De foro competent.: "Cum sit:" "Licet."

Rectors of churches may convent such as do them wrong, whither they will, before a spiritual judge, or a temporal.

Ibidem: "Ex parte:" "Dilecti."

A layman being spoiled, may convent his adversaries before a spiritual judge, whether the lord of the feod consent thereto or not.

Ibidem: "Significasti." *Et*, 11. q. 1: "Placuit."

A layman may commit his cause to a spiritual judge; but one of the clergy may not commit his cause to a temporal judge, without the consent of the bishop.

Ne clerici vel monachi: "Secundum."

Laymen may have no benefices to farm.

De sententia excommunicationis: "Noverit." *Extrav. de pœnitentiis et remiss.*: "Etsi."

All they that make or write any statutes contrary to the liberties of the church, and all princes, rulers, and counselors, where such statutes be made, or such customs observed, and all the judges and other that put the same in execution, and where such statutes and customs have been made and observed of old time, all they that put them not out of their books, be excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assoiled but only by the bishop of Rome.

De immunitate ecclesiæ: "Non minus:" *Adversus*: "Quia:" "Quum." *Et*, lib. 6: "Clericis."

The clergy, to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the bishop of Rome; nor is it not lawful for any layman to lay any imposition of taxes, subsidies, or any charges upon the clergy.

Dist. 97: "Hoc capitulo." *Et*, 68: "Nullus," et quæ sequuntur. *Et*, 96: "Illud:" "Bene quidem." *De rebus eccles. non alien.*: "Cum laicis."

Laymen may not meddle with elections of the clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

De jurejurando: "Nimis."

The clergy ought to give no oath of fidelity to their temporal governors, except they have temporalities of them.

Dist. 96: "Bene quidem." 12. q. 2: "Apostolicos:" "Quis-quis."

The goods of the church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to restitution; and if the church have any ground which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the prince; and if the prince will needs buy it, the sale shall be void and of no strength.

12. q. 2: "Non liceat."

It is not lawful for the bishop of Rome to alienate or mortgage any lands of the church, for every manner of necessity, except it be houses in cities, which be very chargeable to support and maintain.

Dist. 96: "Quis:" "Nunquam." 2. q. 7: "Accusatio." 11. q. 1: "Continua:" "Nullus: "Testimonium:" "Relatum:" "Experientiæ:" "Si quisquam:" "Si quæ:" "Sicut:" "Statuimus:" "Nullus:" "De persona:" "Si quis."

Princes ought to obey the bishops, and the decrees of the church, and to submit their heads unto the bishops, and not to judge over the bishops; for the bishops ought to be forborne, and to be judged of no layman.

De major. et obedient.: "Solitæ."

Kings and princes ought not to set bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an honourable seat by them.

11. q. 1: "Quæcunque:" "Relatum:" "Si quæ:" "Omnes:" "Volumus:" "Placuit."

All manner of causes, whatsoever they be, spiritual or temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the clergy.

Ibidem: "Omnes."

No judge ought to refuse the witness of one bishop, although he be but alone.

De hæreticis: "Ad abolendam." *Et, in Clementinis*: "Ut officium."

Whosoever teacheth or thinketh of the sacraments otherwise than the see of Rome doth teach and observe, and all they that the same see doth judge heretics, be excommunicate.

And the bishop of Rome may compel by an oath, all rulers and other people, to observe, and cause to be observed, whatsoever the see of Rome shall ordain concerning heresy, and the fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their dignities.

Clement. de reliq. et venerat. sanctorum: "Si Dominum."

Extravag. de reliq. et venerat. sanctorum: "Cum præ excelsa." *De pœnitent. et remiss.*: "Antiquorum:" "Unigenitus:" "Quemadmodum."

We obtain remission of sin, by observing of certain feasts, and certain pilgrimages in the jubilee and other prescribed times, by virtue of the bishop of Rome's pardons.

De pœnitentiis et remissionibus extravag. cap. 3: "Et si Dominici."

Whosoever offendeth the liberties of the church, or doth violate any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or conspireth against the person, or statute of the bishop, or see of Rome; or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the said bishop, or see; or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other prelate; or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands belonging to the church of Rome, or to any other church immediately subject to the same; or whosoever invadeth any pilgrims that go to Rome, or any suitors to the court of Rome; or that let the devolution of causes unto that court; or that put any new charges or impositions real or personal upon any church, or ecclesiastical person; and generally, all others

that offend in the cases contained in the bull, which is usually published by the bishops of Rome upon Maundy Thursday; all these can be assoiled by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none other, but only by the bishop of Rome, or by his express license.

24. q. 3: "Si quis."

Robbing of the clergy, and poor men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the bishops.

23. q. 5: "Excommunicatorum."

He is no man-slayer that slayeth a man which is excommunicate.

Dist. 63: "Tibi domino." De sententia excommunicationis:
"Si judex."

Here may be added the most tyrannical and abominable oaths which the bishop of Rome exacts of the emperors; in *Clement. de jurejurando*: "Romani." *Dist. 63: "Tibi domino."*

De consecrat. Dist. 1: "Sicut."

It is better not to consecrate, than to consecrate in a place not hallowed.

De consecrat. Dist. 5: "De his:" "Manus:" "Ut jejuni."

Confirmation, if it be ministered by any other than a bishop, is of no value, nor is no sacrament of the church; also, confirmation is more to be had in reverence than baptism; and no man by baptism can be a Christian man without confirmation.

De pœnitent. Dist. 1: "Multiplex."

A penitent person can have no remission of his sin, but by supplication of the priests.

^bThe bishop of Rome allegeth falsely to maintain his

^b [These remarks on the papal abuses of scripture follow the extracts in the original manuscript at Lambeth, but are not printed by Burnet. The latter part of them is in Cranmer's own hand-writing.]

usurped power, these scriptures following, with many other.

In the chapter "Unam sanctam," he abuseth to that purpose this text, *Pasce oves meas*; and this also, *Unum est ovile et unus Pastor*; and, *Ecce duo gladii hic*; et, *Converte gladium tuum in paginam*; et, *Quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordinatæ sunt*; et, *Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et regna*; et, *Spiritualis homo judicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine judicatur*; et, *Quodcunque ligaveris super terram* &c.; et, *In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram*.

In the chapter "Solitæ," *De major. et obed.* he abuseth this text, *Subditi estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi tanquam præcellenti, sive ducibus* &c.; also this text, *Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna* &c.; also this, *Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna in firmamento cæli, luminare majus* &c.; also, *Pasce oves meas*; et, *Quodcunque ligaveris super terram* &c.

In the chapter "Per venerabilem," *Qui filii sunt legit.* he abuseth this text, *Si difficile et ambiguum apud te iudicium esse perspexeris inter sanguinem et sanguinem*, &c. leaving out these words, *secundum legem Dei*; also he abuseth this text, *Nescitis quod angelos judicabimus, quanto magis secularia*.

^c [There is much ingenuity in the manner in which Innocent III. pressed this text into his service. According to him, as God made two great lights, the sun and the moon, so he made two great powers, the papal and the royal; "sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est, spiritualibus, major est; quæ vero carnalibus, minori: ut quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur." The precise difference, as calculated by the commentator, may be stated in the words of Jewel: "And how much the emperor is less, the gloss declareth by mathematical computation, saying, that the earth is seven times greater than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth: so followeth it, that the pope's dignity is six and fifty times greater than the dignity of the emperor." Jewell, *Sermon at Paul's Cross*, and *Reply to Harding's Answer*, p. 29, and 215.]

[*Substance of a speech on the authority of the pope,
and of general councils*^d.]

I have seen a long speech of Cranmer's, written by one of his Barn. Ref. vol.i. p.353. secretaries. It was spoken soon after the parliament had passed the 'acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done: it was delivered either in the house of lords, the upper house of convocation, or at the council-board; but I rather think it was in the house of lords, for it begins, *My lords*. The matter of it does so much concern the business of reformation, that I know the reader will expect I should set down the heads of it. It appears he had been ordered to inform the house about these things. The preamble of his speech runs upon this conceit:

That as rich men, flying from their enemies, carry away all they can with them, and what they cannot take away they either hide or destroy it; so the court of Rome had destroyed so many ancient writings, and hid the rest, having carefully preserved every thing that was of advantage to them, that it was not easy to discover what they had so artificially concealed: therefore, in the canon law, some honest truths were yet to be found, but so mislaid, that they are not placed where one might expect them; but are to be met with in some other chapters, where one would least look for them. And many more things said by the ancients, of the see of Rome, and against their authority, were lost, as appears by the fragments yet remaining. He shewed, that

^d [According to Burnet, there was a copy of this speech among bishop Stillingfleet's manuscripts. Several of these are now in the library at Lambeth, but they do not contain this speech; neither can it be discovered in Marsh's library at Dublin, where some of the bishop's books are preserved. In the deficiency therefore of better authority, Burnet's abridgment of it, with his short prefatory account, is here reprinted. The value of its contents, even in this imperfect form, will justify, it is hoped, its insertion.]

^e [The acts alluded to are those for declaring the king's supremacy, for confirming the oath of succession, for granting the first-fruits and tenths to the king, for appointing suffragan bishops; all passed in the session of November and December, 1534.]

many of the ancients called every thing which they thought well done, *of divine institution*, by a large extent of the phrase; in which sense the passages of many fathers, that magnified the see of Rome, were to be understood.

Then he shewed, for what end general councils were called; to declare the faith, and reform errors: not that ever any council was truly general, for even at Nice there were no bishops almost, but out of Egypt, Asia, and Greece; but they were called general, because the emperor summoned them, and all Christendom did agree to their definitions, which he proved by several authorities: therefore, though there were many more bishops in the council of Arimini, than at Nice or Constantinople, yet the one was not received as a general council, and the others were: so that it was not the number, nor authority of the bishops, but the matter of their decisions, which made them be received with so general a submission.

As for the head of the council: St. Peter and St. James had the chief direction of the council of the apostles, but there were no contests then about headship. Christ named no head; which could be no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, that had named no head to govern the world. Yet the church found it convenient to have one over them; so archbishops were set over provinces. And though St. Peter had been head of the apostles, yet as it is not certain that he was ever in Rome, so it does not appear that he had his headship for Rome's sake, or that he left it there; but he was made head for his faith, and not for the dignity of any see: therefore the bishops of Rome could pretend to nothing from him, but as they followed his faith: and Liberius, and some other bishops there, had been condemned for heresy; and if, according to St. James, faith be to be tried by works, the lives of the popes for several ages gave shrewd presumptions, that their faith was not good. And though it were granted that such a power was given to the see of Rome, yet by many instances he shewed, that positive precepts, in a matter of that nature, were not for ever obligatory. And therefore Gerson wrote a book, *De Aufe-*

ribilitate Papæ. So that if a pope with the cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tried by a general council, and submit to it. St. Peter gave an account of his baptizing Cornelius, when he was questioned about it. So Damasus, Sixtus, and Leo, purged themselves of some scandals.

Then he shewed how corrupt the present pope was, both in his person and government, for which he was abhorred, even by some of his cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at Rome. It is true, there was no law to proceed against a vicious pope, for it was a thing not foreseen, and thought scarcely possible; but new diseases required new remedies: and if a pope that is an heretic may be judged in a council, the same reason would hold against a simoniacal, covetous, and impious pope, who was salt that had lost its savour. And by several authorities he proved, that every man who lives so, is thereby out of the communion of the church; and that, as the preeminence of the see of Rome flowed only from the laws of men, so there was now good cause to repeal these; for the pope, as was said in the council of Basil, was only vicar of the church, and not of Christ: so he was accountable to the church. The council of Constance, and the divines of Paris, had, according to the doctrine of the ancient church, declared the pope to be subject to a general council, which many popes in former ages had confessed. And all that the pope can claim even by the canon law is, only to call and preside in a general council; but not to overrule it, or have a negative vote in it.

The power of councils did not extend to princes' dominions, or secular matters, but only to points of faith, which they were to declare, and to condemn heretics: nor were their decrees laws, till they were enacted by princes. Upon this he enlarged much, to shew, that though a council did proceed against a king, (with which they then threatened the king,) that their sentence was of no force, as being without their sphere. The determination of councils ought to be well considered and examined by the Scriptures; and in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their freedom. He taxed the severity of Victor's proceedings against the

churches of the East, about the day of Easter: and concluded, that, as a member of the body is not cut off, except a gangrene comes in it; so no part of the church ought to be cut off, but upon a great and inevitable cause. And he very largely shewed, with what moderation and charity the church should proceed even against those that held errors. And the standard of the council's definitions should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not from men's traditions.

He said, some general councils had been rejected by others; and it was a tender point, how much ought to be deferred to a council: some decrees of councils were not at all obeyed. The divines of Paris held, that a council could not make a new article of faith, that was not in the Scriptures. And as all God's promises to the people of Israel had this condition implied within them, *If they kept his commandments*; so he thought the promises to the Christian church had this condition in them, *If they kept the faith*. Therefore he had much doubting in himself as to general councils; and he thought that only the word of God was the rule of faith, which ought to take place in all controversies of religion. The Scriptures were called canonical, as being the only rule of the faith of Christians; and these, by appointment of the ancient councils, were only to be read in the churches. The fathers SS. Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did in many things differ from one another; but always appealed to the Scriptures, as the common and certain standard. And he cited some remarkable passage out of St. Austin to shew, what difference he put between the Scriptures, and all the other writings even of the best and holiest fathers. But when all the fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God; and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceit: therefore he thought councils ought to found their decisions on the word of God, and those expositions of it that had been agreed on by the doctors of the church.

Then he discoursed very largely what a person a judge ought to be; he must not be partial, nor a judge in his own

cause, nor so much as sit on the bench when it is tried, lest his presence should overawe others. Things also done upon a common error cannot bind, when the error upon which they were done comes to be discovered ; and all human laws ought to be changed, when a public visible inconvenience follows them. From which he concluded, that the pope, being a party, and having already passed his sentence, in things which ought to be examined by a general council, could not be a judge, nor sit in it. Princes also, who, upon a common mistake, thinking the pope head of the church, had sworn to him, finding that this was done upon a false ground, may pull their neck out of his yoke, as every man may make his escape out of the hands of a robber. And the court of Rome was so corrupt, that a pope, though he meant well, as Hadrian did, yet could never bring any good design to an issue ; the cardinals and the rest of that court being so engaged to maintain their corruptions.

[*A Speech delivered in Convocation, 1536.*]

Foxe, vol. ii.
p. 504.

It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of sophisters and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them which should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding and of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which pleaseth God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which have no word of God to confirm them, whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences, or no?

^f [The debate on this occasion is given at some length by Foxe. An abridged account of it may be seen in Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 429. It was opened by the lord Crumwell as vicar-general. The principal speakers on the side of reform, besides Crumwell and Cranmer, were Fox bishop of Hereford, and Alexander Alesse, a Scotchman, residing at that time with the archbishop at Lambeth, who though not a member of the house, was introduced and commanded to speak by Crumwell. On the other side, the argument was chiefly maintained by Stokesley bishop of London. The articles of 1536 seem to have resulted from the discussion.]

whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, anealing, and such other, (which cannot be proved institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify of remission of sins,) ought to be called sacraments, or be compared with Baptism and the Supper of the Lord or no?

There be no light matters, but even the principal points of Christian religion. Wherefore we contend not about names and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ

Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called Matt. v.

of God. And Paul, writing unto Timothy, com-

mands bishops to avoid brawling and contention about

things which be profitable to nothing but unto the subver-

sion and destruction of the hearers: and monisheth him

that he should resist with the Scriptures, when

any man disputeth with him of the faith; and he addeth a

text, *whereas he saith, Doing this thou shalt preserve both* 1 Tim. iv.

thyself and also them which hear thee. Now if ye will follow

counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawl-

ing words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a

perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture.

Therefore in this disputation we must first agree of the

names of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth sig-

nify in the holy Scripture, and when we call Baptism and

Supper of the Lord sacraments of the gospel, what we

mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose and

other authors call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other

things, *sacraments*; which I am sure you yourselves would

rather suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments.

[*Some Queries and Answers concerning Confirmation*.]

Cotton lib.

Cleop. E. v.

fol. 83.

Burn. Ref.

Addend.

vol. i. N^o. 3.

Strype,

Memor.

App. vol. i.

N^o. 88.

Whether confirmation be institute by Christ?

Responsio. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this sacrament to be institute of Christ.

First, for the places alleged for the same be no institutions, but acts and deeds of the apostles.

Second, those acts were done by a special gift given to the apostles for the confirmation of God's word at that time.

Third, the said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the apostles.

What is the external sign?

The church useth chrisma for the exterior sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the efficacy of this sacrament?

The bishop in the name of the church doth invoke the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed: so that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value, as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the church.

^h *Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditionum et ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio.*

^s [These queries are supposed by Strype to have been designed to collect the opinions of divines for the compilation of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which was printed in 1537. They were certainly issued about that time, for one of the persons who answered them was Hilsey Bishop of Rochester, who was elected to that see Oct. 4. 1535, and who died in 1538. The whole of the answers extant may be seen in Strype, *Mem. App.* vol. i. N^o. 88.]

^h [Burnet states that the whole of this paper is in Cranmer's handwriting. Strype more accurately asserts this of the last clause only, "*Hæc respondeo*" &c.]

Injunctions given by Thomas archbishop of Canterbury to the parsons, vicars, and other curates, in his visitation kept ('sede vacante) within the diocese of Hereford, anno Domini 1538.

I.

First; That ye and every one of you shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe, and cause to be observed, all and singular the King's Highness' Injunctions, by his Grace's commissaries given in such places as they in times past have visited.

Regist.
Cranm.
fol. 96. b.
Burn. Ref.
Append.
vol. i. b. iii.
N^o. 12.

II.

Item; That ye and every one of you shall have, by the first day of August next coming, as well a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at the least a New Testament of both the same languages, as the copies of the King's Highness' Injunctions.

III.

Item; That ye shall every day study one chapter of the said Bible, or New Testament, conferring the Latin and English together, and to begin at the first part of the book, and so to continue until the end of the same.

IV.

Item; That ye nor none of you shall discourage any layman from the reading of the Bible in Latin or English, but encourage them to it, admonishing them that they so read it, for reformation of their own life and knowledge of

¹ [Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died May 8, 1538. Boner was elected to succeed him Nov. 27 of the same year. In the interval Cranmer deputed Hugh Coren, Prebendary of Hereford, to visit the diocese, and promulgate these Injunctions. Boner was translated to London before consecration, and the see of Hereford was not permanently filled till Skyp was elected, Oct. 24, 1539. On his death, in 1552, the custody of the spiritualities was again committed to Hugh Coren, then Dean, in conjunction with Richard Cheney Archdeacon. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 70 and 268. Nicolas, *Synopsis of the Peerage.*]

their duty; and that they be not bold or presumptuous in judging of matters afore they have perfect knowledge.

V.

Item; That ye, both in your preaching and secret confession and all other works and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such works as are commanded expressly of God, for the which God shall demand of them a strait reckoning; and all other works which men do of their own will or devotion, to teach your parishioners, that they are not to be so highly esteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any account.

VI.

Item; That ye nor none of you, suffer no friar or religious man to have any cure or service within your churches or cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

VII.

Item; That ye and every one of you, do not admit any young man or woman to receive the sacrament of the altar, which never received it before, until that he or she openly in the church after mass or evening song upon the holy-day, do recite in the vulgar tongue, the Pater Noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

VIII.

Item; That ye and every one of you, shall two times in a quarter declare to your parishioners the band of matrimony, and what great danger it is to all men that useth their bodies but with such persons as they lawfully may by the law of God. And to exhort in the said times your parishioners, that they make no privy contracts, as they will avoid the extreme pain of the laws used within the King's realm by his Grace's authority.

[^m*Corrections of The Institution of a Christian Man, by Henry VIII.*]

The Institution, &c. p. 30. (edit. Oxf. 1825.) I believe also and Bodl. Libr. profess, that this God and this Father is almighty, that is to say, *Rawlinson*, 4^{to}. 245.

[^m These *Corrections* are printed as a necessary introduction to Cranmer's *Annotations* on them. They are taken from a copy of *The Institution* formerly belonging to Rawlinson, and now in the Bodleian Library. Rawlinson believed them to have been written by Cranmer, but Lewis of Margate in a letter still preserved, clearly proved, that, supposing the *Annotations on the King's Book* attributed to the Archbishop, to be genuine, these corrections, instead of being those which he *made*, must be those on which he *commented*. He further expressed his opinion, that Rawlinson's copy of *The Institution* was the identical *King's Book* on which Cranmer drew up his remarks. But in this conjecture he seems to have gone too far; for there are expressions referred to in the *Annotations* which are not to be found in these *Corrections*, and of which the omission cannot in all cases be accounted for by the supposition, that they were written on manuscript leaves once inserted in the printed volume, but now lost. The probability therefore is, that these are Henry VIII.'s rough memoranda, which were afterwards transcribed fairly, and submitted, with some additions, to Cranmer's judgment. They are written chiefly by the King's own hand, and it would seem in his own copy; for on the inside of the cover appears this order: "The King's commandment is that I should not be had out of the privy chamber." With the exception of a few verbal alterations, and some erasures, they are here printed entire, with such extracts from *The Institution* as are necessary to understand them. Henry VIII.'s *Corrections* are distinguished by Italics; the passages of *The Institution* erased by him are marked thus || ||. To the expressions commented on by Cranmer are added numerals corresponding to those prefixed to the *Annotations*.

Cranmer's *Annotations* on these *Corrections* are preserved in the valuable manuscript library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The title only is in the Archbishop's handwriting; the annotations themselves are a copy, and perhaps not always a correct one, by a secretary. Some extracts are printed by Strype in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 96. and App. N^o. 31. but the only complete copy hitherto published is in *The Fathers of the English Church*. Both the editor of that work and Strype were misled by the title, and considered them to refer to *The Necessary Doctrine*, &c. which was commonly known by the name of *The King's Book*. But the passages cited (as indeed was observed by the editor of *The Fathers* &c.) are not to be found in that Formulary: and every one who compares the *Annotations* with the *Corrections* will perceive their connection, and be satisfied that *The King's Book* was a title given by Cranmer to a *Copy of The Institution revised by Henry VIII.*

Respecting the date of these *Annotations* there has been a difference

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that his power and might excelleth incomparably all the other powers in heaven and earth. And that all other powers, which be in heaven, earth, or hell, be nothing as of themselves, but have all their might, force, and strength of him only, and be all subject unto his power, and be ruled and governed ¹ || thereby, || and cannot resist or let the same².

¹ by his
ordinate
power, (i.)
² but by
his grace.
(ii.)

Inst. p. 31. And I believe also and profess, that among his other creatures he did create and make me, and did give unto me this my soul, my life, my body, with all the members that I have, great and small, and all the wit, reason, knowledge, and understanding that I have; and finally, all the other outward substance, possessions, and things that I have or can have in this world³.

³ only by
his suffer-
ance. (iii.)

And I believe also and profess, that he is my very God, my Lord, and my Father, and that I am his servant and his own son, by adoption and grace, and ⁴ || the right inheritor || of his kingdom, and that it proceedeth and cometh of his mere goodness only, without all my desert, that I am in this life preserved and kept from dangers and perils⁵, and that I am sustained, nourished, fed, ⁶ clothed, and that I have health, tranquillity, rest, peace, ⁷ || or any || other thing necessary for this corporal life⁸. I know-
ledge also and confess, that he ⁹ || suffereth || and causeth the sun, the moon, the stars, the day, the night, the air, the fire, the water, the land, the sea, the fowls, the fishes, the beasts, and all the fruits of the earth, to serve me for my profit and my necessity.

⁴ as long as
I persevere
in his pre-
cepts and
laws, one of
the inherit-
ors (iv.)
⁵ by his
grace and
mercy, (v.)
⁶ and
⁷ and all
⁸ by his or-
dinance.
(vi.)

⁹ ordained
(vii.)
¹⁰ be some-
times suffer-
ed by him,
and some-
time sent
by his visit-
ation, and
that when
he punish-
eth me he
doth not
punish
(viii.)

And in like manner I confess and knowledge, that all bodily sickness and adversity, which do fortune unto me in this world, ¹⁰ || be sent unto me by his hand and his visitation, and that he punisheth me not || to destroy me, but only to save me, and to reduce me again by penance unto the right way of his laws and his religion.

Inst. p. 33. And sith he is my Father¹¹, I am assured, that for the fatherly love and pity which he hath and beareth unto me,

¹¹ as afore,
(ix.)

of opinion. Lewis fixes 1538, Strype 1542. If, as is most probable, they are the same which form the subject of Cranmer's *Letters* of the 14th and 25th January [1538.] the former is the correct date. See the *Letters*, and also Lewis, *Life of Caxton*, p. 72. Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 51. 95.]

he will not only care for me, but he will be also continually present with me by his grace and favour.

Inst. p. 34. And I believe also and profess, that Jesu Christ is not only Jesus, and Lord to all men that believe in him, but also that he is my Jesus, my God, and my Lord¹. For whereas of my nature *I being Christian, and in will to follow his precepts. (x.)* I was born in sin, and in the indignation and displeasure of God, and was the very child of wrath, condemned to everlasting death, subject and thrall to the power of the Devil and sin, having all the principal parts or portions of my soul, as my reason and understanding, and my freewill, and all the other powers of my soul and body, not only so destituted and deprived of the gifts of God, wherewith they were first endued, but also so blinded, corrupted, and poisoned with error, ignorance, and carnal concupiscence, that neither my said powers could exercise the natural function and office for the which they were ordained by God at the first creation², nor I by them could do or think any thing *and shall continue as long as the world lasteth, (xi.)* which might be acceptable to God, but was utterly dead to God and all godly things, and utterly unable and insufficient of mine own self to observe the least part of God's commandments, and utterly inclined and ready to run headlong into all kinds of sin and mischief; I believe, I say, that I being in this case, Jesu Christ, by suffering of most painful and shameful death upon the cross, and by shedding of his most precious blood, and by that glorious victory which he had, when he descending into hell, and there overcoming both the Devil and death, rose again the third day from death to life, and so ascended into heaven, hath now pacified his Father's indignation towards me, and hath reconciled me again into his favour, and that he hath loosed and delivered me from the yoke and tyranny of death, of the Devil, and of sin, and hath made me so free from them, that they shall not finally hurt or annoy me, and that he hath poured out plentifully his Holy Spirit and his graces upon me, specially faith, to illumine and direct my reason and judgment, and charity, to direct my will and affections towards God, whereby I³ am so perfectly restored to *3 rejecting in my will and heart the Devil and his works (xii.)* the light and knowledge of God, to the spiritual fear and dread of God, and unto the love of him and mine neighbour, that with his grace I am now ready to obey, and able to fulfil and accomplish his will and commandments. Besides all this, he hath brought and delivered me from darkness and blindness to light, from death

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to life, and from sin to justice, and he hath taken me into his protection, and made me as his own peculiar possession, and he hath planted and grafted me into his own body, and made me a member of the same, and he hath communicated and made me participant of his justice, his power, his life, his felicity, and of all his goods; so that now I may boldly say and believe, as indeed I do perfectly believe, that by his passion, his death, his blood, and his conquering of death, of sin, and of the Devil, by his resurrection and ascension, he hath made a sufficient expiation or propitiation towards God, that is to say, a sufficient satisfaction and recompense as well for my original sin, as also for all the actual sins ^{1 before my reconciliation, (xiii.)} that ever I have committed¹, and that I am so clearly rid from all the guilt of my said offences, and from the everlasting pain due for the same, that neither sin, nor death, nor hell, shall be able, ^{2 for them,} or have any power, to hurt me or to let me², but that after this transitory life I shall ascend into heaven, there to reign with my Saviour Christ perpetually in glory and felicity.

All which things considered, I may worthily call him my Jesus, that is to say, my Saviour and my Christ, that is to say, mine anointed King and Priest, and my Lord, that is to say, my Redeemer and Governor. For he hath done and fulfilled the very office both of a Priest, and of a King, and of a Lord. Of a Priest, in that he hath offered up his blessed body and blood, in the altar of the cross, for the satisfaction of my sins. And of a King and Lord, in that he hath, like a most mighty conqueror, overcome and utterly oppressed his enemies, (which were also mine enemies,) and hath spoiled them of the possession of mankind³, ^{3 willing to return to him, (xiv.)} which they won before by fraud and deceit, by lying and blasphemy, and hath brought us now into his possession and dominion, to reign over us in mercy and love, like a most loving Lord and Governor.

Finally, I believe assuredly, and also profess, that this redemption and justification of mankind could not have been wrought nor brought to pass by any other means in the world, but by the means of this Jesu Christ, God's only Son, and that never man could yet, nor never shall be able to come unto God the Father, or to believe in him, or to attain his favour by his own wit or reason, or by his own science and learning, or by any his own works, ^{4 by his grace first called, and then by the faith (xv.)} or by whatsoever may be named in heaven or in earth, but ⁴|| by the faith|| in the name and power of Jesu Christ, and by the gifts and

graces of his Holy Spirit. And therefore, sith he is my Jesu Christ and my Lord, I will put my whole trust and confidence in him, and will have the self-same faith and affiance in him in all points which I have in God the Father. And I will knowledge him for my only Lord, and will obey all his commandments during my life, without any grudging. And I am sure that while he is my Lord and Governor, and I under his protection¹, neither sin, nei-¹ *which I am void of whiles I continue in sin, (xvi.)* ther the Devil, nor yet death, nor hell, can do me any hurt.

Inst. p. 37. And I believe also, that this child Jesu Christ was not only thus conceived without sin, but also that he was born in like manner of his said most blessed mother, and that she, both in the conception, and also in the birth and nativity of this her child, || and ever after, || retained still her virginity pure and immaculate, and as clear without blot, as she was at the time that she was first born².

And I believe, that this conception and nativity of our said Saviour was ordained to be thus pure, holy, and undefiled, to the intent that all filthiness and malediction, wherewith the conception and birth of me, and of all other men that ever were sith Adam, or shall be, and all the filthiness and malice of the sins³ || of the whole world, || as well original as actual, should thereby be purified, purged, and made clean⁴.

Inst. p. 38. °And I believe, that our Saviour Jesu Christ, being thus most falsely and wrongfully accused, and brought before the said judge, was at length in public and open judgment condemned, by the sentence of the said judge, to be nailed unto a cross, and to be hanged upon the same, to the intent he should so suffer that kind of death, which among the Jews was ever most abhorred

And I believe that this innocent Jesu Christ our Saviour was grievously scourged by the commandment of Pilate, and had a crown of thorn put upon his head by the soldiers, and was by them not only most spitefully mocked and scorned, but also most cruelly tormented and afflicted. And after this he was at the last in public and open judgment condemned by the sentence of the said judge to be cru-

² *and ever after also, as we verily believe.*

³ *of all the Christian people of the world, 4 as often as they*

reconcile themselves by his grace after their fall.

ⁿ [See *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 232, Oxford, 1825.]

^o [*Ibid.* p. 233.]

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and detested, and accounted to be the most shameful and cursed of all others.

And I believe, that after this sentence and judgment thus pronounced and given contrary to all justice and equity, the Jews did take this innocent Jesu Christ our Saviour, and first of all binding him fast to a pillar, and pressing with great violence a crown of thorn upon his head, they did not only most spitefully mock him, and scorn him, but they also most cruelly scourged, tormented, and afflicted him, and finally they crucified him, that is to say, they nailed him through hands and feet unto a cross, and so hanged him up upon the same, on a certain hill called Calvary.

And I believe also and profess, that he hanged there upon the same cross between two thieves, || which were malefactors, || until he was dead, || and his soul departed from his body. || And that after he was thus dead, one Joseph ab Arimathea, being one of Christ's disciples, || and certain other devout men and women, which also believed in Christ, || obtained license of the said judge to take down this blessed body of our Saviour Jesu Christ from the said cross. || And that when they had so done, they ||¹ wrapped and folded the same body in a clean syndone, and so laid it and buried it in a new grave or sepulchre, which the said Joseph had made of stone, wherein there was never man buried before.

¹ *And that done, he with another of Christ's disciples called Nicodemus* p

Inst. p. 40. And I believe that by this passion and death of our Saviour Jesu Christ², not only my corporal death is so destroyed that it shall never have power to hurt me, but rather it is

² *I doing my duty,* (xvii.)

p [See *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 233.]

cified, to the intent he should suffer that kind of death, which among the Jews was evermore most abhorred and detested, and accounted to be the most shameful and cursed of all other. And so according to said sentence the soldiers crucified him, that is to say, they nailed him through hands and feet unto a cross, and hanged him upon the same, on a certain hill called Calvary.

made wholesome and profitable unto me, but also that all my sins, and the sins also of all them that do believe in him and follow him, be mortified and dead, that is to say, all the guilt and offence thereof, and also the damnation and pain due for the same, is clearly extincted, abolished, and washed away, so that the same shall not afterward be imputed or inflicted unto me.

||⁹ *The sense and interpretation of the fifth Article.*||

Inst. p. 40. ||I believe assuredly in my heart, and with my mouth I do profess, that this our Saviour Jesu Christ, after he was thus dead upon the cross, he descended immediately in his soul down into hell, leaving his most blessed body here in earth, and that at his coming thither, by the incomparable might and force of his godhead, he entered into hell. ||

And I believe assuredly that this our Saviour Jesu Christ, after he was thus crucified, dead upon the cross, and buried, descended with his soul into hell, leaving his blessed body in sepulture here in earth, and loosed the pains and sorrows thereof, wherewith it was not possible that he should be holden^r.

And like as that mighty man, of whom St. Luke speaketh, Luke xi. which entering into the house of another strong man, first overcame him, and bound him hand and foot, and afterward spoiling him of all his armour and strength, wherein he trusted, took also away from him all the goods and substance he had; and like as strong Samson slew the mighty lion, and took out of his mouth Judges xiv. the sweet honey: even so our Saviour Jesu Christ

||at his said entry into hell, *in simili though their powers be first he || not comparable to his, (xviii.)*

conquered and oppressed both the Devil and hell, and also death itself, whereunto all mankind was condemned,

||and so bound them fast, that is *and so conquered it, that finally* to say, restrained the power and *he bereaved the Devil and hell of*

⁹ [In *The Institution*, the fifth article of the Creed comprises the descent into hell and the resurrection. Henry VIII. adds the descent into hell to the fourth article, and places the resurrection alone in the fifth. This division is adopted both in *Cranmer's Annotations* and *The Necessary Doctrine*.]

^r [See *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 234.]

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tyranny which they had before, *all their power to hurt any of*
 and exercised over all mankind, *them*
 that they never had sith that
 time, nor never shall have any
 power finally to hurt or annoy
 any of them||

that do faithfully believe in Jesu Christ ;

|| and afterward he spoiled hell, *and I believe, that not only by*
 and delivered and brought with *this his sufferance of passion,*
 him from thence all the souls *death, and descent into hell, he*
 of those righteous and good *did deliver his elect people from*
 men, which from the fall of *the captivity and thralldom of*
 Adam died in the favour of *the Devil, but also that the sen-*
 God, and in the faith and belief *tence and judgment*

of this our Saviour Jesu Christ,
 which was then to come. And
 I believe that by this descend-
 ing of our Saviour Jesu Christ
 into hell, not only his elect
 people, which were holden
 there as captives, were delivered
 from thence, but also that the
 sentence and judgment||

of the malediction and of eternal damnation (which God himself
 most rightfully pronounced upon Adam and all his posterity, and
 so consequently upon me) was clearly dissolved, satisfied, released,
 and discharged, and that the Devil and hell both have utterly lost
 and be deprived of all the right, claim, and interest which they
 might have pretended to have had in me by the authority of that
 sentence, or by reason of any sin that ever I had or have com-
 mitted, be it original or actual. And that the Devil, with all his
 power, craft, subtilty, and malice, is now subdued and made cap-
 tive, not only unto me, but also unto all the other faithful people
 and right believers in Jesu Christ that ever was or shall be ||sith
 the time of Christ's said descending into hell.|| And that our
 Saviour Jesu Christ hath also by this his passion and this his de-
 scending into hell, paid ¹ ||my|| ransom, ² ||and hath merited and
 deserved|| that neither my soul, neither the souls of any such as
 be right believers in Christ, shall come therein, or shall finally be
 encumbered with any title or accusation that the Devil can object
 against us, or lay unto our charge³.

¹ our
² so

³ if we so
 die. (xix.)

Inst. p. 42. And I believe assuredly, that by || this descending of Christ into hell, and || this his resurrection again from death to life, Christ hath merited and deserved for me and all true and faithful Christian men, || not only that our souls shall never come into hell, but also || that we shall here in this life be perfectly justified in the sight and acceptation of God, and shall have such grace, might, and power given unto us by him, that we shall be made able thereby to subdue, to mortify, and to extinguish our old Adam, and all our carnal and fleshly concupiscences, in such sort, that sin shall never ¹ || afterward || reign in our mortal bodies, ¹ *finally* but that we shall be wholly delivered from the kingdom of sin, and from spiritual death, and shall be resuscitated and regenerated into the new life of the Spirit and grace.

And whereas I and all other Christian men should have been the most miserable of all other creatures in the world, and should have died like heathens and pagans, without all hope of everlasting life, or of rising again after our death, if Christ our head and Saviour had not risen again to life after his death; I believe and trust now assuredly, that by the virtue and efficacy of this ² || de- ² *his passion, death, and* ascending of Christ into hell, and of his || resurrection again from death to life, not only our corporal death and all the afflictions which we may sustain in this world shall not annoy us, but shall rather turn unto our profit, and be as entries and occasions of our greater glory; but also that we ³ shall after our corporal death be ³ *continuing a Christian's life (xx.)* preserved from the captivity of hell, and shall be made partakers of Christ's resurrection.

Inst. p. 45. And I believe, that according thereunto, our Saviour Jesu Christ is of his own goodness not only more ready always than any other creature || in the world || is, to help me by his mediation and intercession, but also that whensoever I do invoke and call upon him in right faith and hope with full intent and purpose to amend and return from my naughty life, || he presenteth and exhibiteth *he being present always in the sight of his father exhibiteth* unto the sight of his Father his most blessed body, as it was *from time to time, and maketh* wounded, crucified, and offered *continual request and interces-* up in sacrifice for the redemption *sion unto him for the remission* of mankind, and so from *of all* time to time maketh continual

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request and intercession unto
God his Father for the remis-
sion of all||
my sins, and for my reconciliation unto his favour.

Inst. p. 49. Neither it is possible for any man to come unto the Father by Christ, that is to say, to be reconciled into the favour of God, and to be made and adopted into the number of his children, or to obtain any part of that incomparable treasure which our Saviour Jesu Christ, by his nativity, his passion, his death, his resurrection, and his ascension, hath merited for mankind, unless
¹ *by grace* this Holy Spirit shall first illumine and inspire ¹ into his heart the right knowledge and faith of Christ, ² with due contrition and penance for his sins, and shall also afterward instruct him, govern him, aid him, direct him, and endue him with such special gifts and graces, as shall be requisite and necessary to that end and purpose.

And I believe also assuredly, that this Holy Spirit of God is of his own nature full of all goodness and benignity, or rather that he is goodness itself. Forasmuch as he is the only Ghost or Spirit, which with the Father by Christ instilleth and infoundeth into the hearts of mortal men (after they be once purified from sin by ³ faith, and delivered from the power of the Devil) divers and manifold most noble and excellent gifts and graces; as, ⁴ the gift of holy fear and dread of God; the gift of fervent love and charity towards God and our neighbour; the gift of spiritual wisdom and understanding; the gift of ⁵ ||freewill and desire,|| and also of very fortitude and strength to contemn this world, to subdue and mortify all carnal concupiscence, and to walk in the ways of God; the gift of perseverance to continue in the same; the gift of pity and mercy, of patience and benignity, of science and cunning, of prophesying, of curing and healing, and of all other virtues necessary for Christian men to have, either for the attaining of their own salvation, or for the edifying and profit of their neighbours. All and singular which gifts and graces I knowledge and profess that they proceed from this Holy Spirit, and that they be given, conferred, and distributed unto us mortal men here in earth, at his own godly will, arbitre, and dispensation, and that

*2 a man
adhibiting
his will
thereto
(xxi.)*

*3 right
4 the gift
of calling
by many
ways the
sinner
from sin
and such
other,
(xxii.)*

*5 counsel,
and the
gift of
freewill
and desire
to follow
the same,t*

[^s See *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 242.] [^t See *Necessary Doctrine*, *ibid.*]

no man can purchase or obtain, ne yet receive, retain, or use any one of them, without the special operation of this Holy Spirit.

¶ And although he giveth not nor dispenseth the same equally and unto every man in like, yet he giveth always some portion thereof unto all persons, which be accepted in the sight of God, and that not only freely, and without all their deservings, but also in such plenty and measure, as unto his godly knowledge is thought to be most beneficial and expedient.¶

Which will not let: and was left with us therefore to remember us of our duty, if we willingly and wilfully reject not the same his illuminations and good motions. And yet he giveth not nor dispenseth the same equally and unto every man in like; but he divideth them peculiarly and specially to every member of his mystical body the church, as is most necessary for the whole body, and in such plenty and measure as unto his godly will and knowledge is thought to be most beneficial and expedient for the same. All which things he doth of his mere mercy and goodness, freely and without all our deserving^v.

Inst. p. 53. All the prayers, good works, and merits, yea and all the gifts, graces, and goods which be conferred, done, or wrought in or

¶ unto this whole body, or any member of the same, shall be applied unto every one of them, and shall redound commonly unto the benefit of them all.¶

unto any member of Christ's mystical body (xxiii.) shall be applied and redound commonly unto the benefit of the whole, to the edifying and increase of Christ's church. And likewise all gifts, graces, and goods which be conferred unto the whole body, shall be applied and redound unto the commodity and profit of every one of the members of the same.

^v [See *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 242.]

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Inst. p. 53. Although God doth oftentimes suffer not only sin, error, and iniquity so to abound here in the world, and the congregation of the wicked to exercise such tyranny, cruelty, and persecution over this holy church, and the members of the same, that it might seem the said church to be utterly oppressed and extinguished, but also suffereth many and sundry of the members of the same holy church to fall out from this body for a season, and to commit many grievous and horrible offences and crimes, for the which they deserve to be precided and excluded for a season

¹ *that is to say, till by repentance and penance they return,*
² *if fault be not in themselves,*
(xxiv.)

¹ from the communion of this holy church; yet I believe assuredly, that God will never utterly abject this holy church, nor any of the members thereof, but that the same doth and shall perpetually continue and endure here in this world², and that God shall at all times (yea when persecution is greatest and most fervent) be present with his Holy Spirit in the same church, and preserve it all holy and undefiled, and shall keep, ratify, and hold sure all his promises made unto the same church or congregation. And finally, that all such members as be fallen out from the same by sin, shall at length rise again by penance, and shall be restored and united again unto the same holy body³.

³ *if willingly and obstinately they withstand not his calling.*
(xxv.)

Inst. p. 54. And I believe that this holy church is catholic, that is to say, that it cannot be coercted or restrained within the limits or bonds of any one town, city, province, region, or country; but that it is dispersed and spread universally throughout all the whole world. Insomuch that in what part soever of the world, be it in Africa, Asia, or Europe, there may be found any number of people, of what sort, state, or condition soever they be, which do believe in one God the Father, Creator of all things, and in one Lord Jesu Christ his Son, and in one Holy Ghost, and do also profess and have all one faith, one hope, and one charity, according as is prescribed in holy scripture, and do all consent in the true interpretation of the same scripture, and in the right use of the sacraments of Christ; we may boldly pronounce and say, that there is this holy church, the very espouse and body of Christ, the very kingdom of Christ, and the very temple of God.

⁴ *that all*
(xxvi.)

And ⁴|| I believe that these|| particular churches, in what place of the world soever they be congregated, be the very parts, portions, or members of this catholic and universal church.

^x [See *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 244.]

Inst. p. 58. And I believe, that I being united and ¹||corpo- ¹ incorpo-
 rated|| as a living member into this catholic church, (as un- ² ² rated
 doubtedly I trust that I am,) ²not only Christ himself, being Head ³ ³ and so
 of this body, and the infinite treasure of all goodness, ³||and all ³ continuing,
 the holy saints and members of the same body do|| and shall ³ (xxvii.)
 necessarily help me, love me, pray for me, care for me, weigh ³ doth
 on my side, comfort me, and assist me in all my necessities
 here in this world ⁴; but also that I shall be made partaker of ⁴ according
 the fruit, benefit, and treasure of Christ's most blessed life and his ⁴ to his pro-
 bitter passion, and of all the holy life, passions, and patience, and ⁴ mise;
 of all the prayers and other good works of faith and charity, which
 have been or shall be done or sustained by any ⁵ and every one of ⁵ of the
 all those faithful and righteous people, which ever have been or ⁵ holy saints
 shall be members of this catholic church.

And I believe that in this catholic church I, and all the lively
 and quick members of the same, shall continually and from time
 to time, so long as we shall live here on earth ⁶, obtain remission ⁶ following
 and forgiveness of all our sins, as well original as actual, by the ⁶ Christ's
 merits of Christ's blood and his passion, and ⁷ by the virtue and ⁷ precepts, or
 efficacy of Christ's sacraments, instituted by him for that purpose, ⁷ when we
 so oft as we shall worthily receive the same. ⁷ full repent
 our fault,
 (xxviii.)

And like as it is not in the power of any man to dispense,
 minister, or distribute any part of that nutriment which he re-
 ceiveth in at his mouth unto any member which either is morti-
 fied and dead in his body, or that is cut off from the same; even
 so I believe assuredly, that neither Christ's blood, nor his sacra-
 ments, nor any of the graces of the Holy Ghost, nor any good
 work in the world, do or can any thing profit to remission and
 forgiveness of sin, or salvation unto any person, which is in very
 deed out of the catholic church, as long as he shall so stand, and
 continue out of the same ⁸. ⁸ shall the
 more plen-
 tiously at-
 tain the
 same

Inst. p. 67. In the fifth article it is to be noted, that therein is ⁹ ⁹ obstinate-
 included and contained the grounds and foundations of the great- ⁹ ly and
 est part of all the mysteries of our catholic faith. Insomuch that ⁹ without re-
 St. Paul saith, that whosoever believeth in his heart that God the ⁹ pentance.
 Father did resuscitate and raise up his Son Christ from death to ⁹ (xxix.)
 life, he shall be saved. And in another place he saith ⁹, that who-
 soever believeth not that Christ is risen from death to life, ¹⁰ ||it is ¹⁰ to this ef-
 not possible his sins should be remitted.|| ¹⁰ fect,
¹⁰ remain-
 eth still in
 sin, and so
 dying can-
 not be
 saved.

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Inst. p. 67. ||It is also to be noted in this article, that the victory and conquest which Christ had over death, hell, and the Devil himself, with all their power and tyranny, beside that it proceeded of the infinite mercy and goodness of God towards us, it was also founded upon very justice. For surely like as the sin of man and his disobedience was the only mean and cause wherefore God ordained and suffered that death and the Devil should have and occupy such dominion and tyranny over all mankind as they had; even so was it contrary to the will and ordinance of God, that death, hell, or the Devil should have or exercise any power or authority where as no sin reigned. Insomuch that if man had never sinned, he should never have died, but should have been immortal; nor never should have descended into hell, but should ever have had the superiority over the Devil, death, and hell, and should have had them always subdued unto him. And therefore, sith the Devil himself did perfectly know that our Saviour Jesu Christ expressed in all his life most exact and most perfect obedience unto the laws and will of God, and so fulfilled and satisfied the

*There is nothing that can in all adversity and trouble be more joyful and comfortable unto us than the belief of this article, that Christ rose again from death to life, and that we shall also do the same. The faith and belief of this (*we living well,) (xxx.) is our victory and triumph over the Devil, hell, and death, and the only remedy to put away the horror and fear of them; forasmuch as hereby we be assured, that as death could not hold Christ, even so it cannot hold us which are by a Christian faith the very members and body of Christ, but that we shall rise from death and live again, †if we order and conform our will in this world to his precepts. (xxxi.) And the only hope hereof maketh us, that we regard not persecutions nor adversities in this world which we sustain for Christ's sake, because we be assured to have a better and a more glorious life after this, as St. Paul writeth unto the Corinthians, saying, " If we Christian men that live " in persecution, and contempt of " the world, had no hope of other " life than this that is present, " then were we the most miserable " of all men. But now Christ is " risen again from death, and " hath declared thereby, that*

* [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 235.]

† [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 235.]

same in every point to the uttermost, that there could never be found untruth or deceit in his mouth, nor any spot or blot of filthiness or impurity in any part of all his living, and yet that notwithstanding, (knowing him to be a very natural man,) laboured, procured, and caused the Jews to kill this innocent Christ, and to put him unto most sharp and bitter death, contrary to all equity and justice, and all to the intent that he might, after his said death, have Christ with him down into hell, as one of his captives, and so there to exercise his tyranny upon him, like as he had done over all other men from the beginning of the world until that time: no doubt but the Devil, in this doing, did extreme and manifest wrong, and utterly exceeded the limits of the power given unto him. And therefore God, considering this high presumption and malice of the Devil, and this intolerable abuse of his said power, did send his only begotten Son down into hell, there to condemn the Devil of this extreme iniquity, and to conquer, to spoil, and deprive him, not only of the possession of all the souls of the righteous men, which by his craft and subtilty he had before reduced and brought under his dominion; but also

*"there is a life after this life
 "which all Christian men hope
 "to come to." According hereto
 saith St. Austen, All the hope of
 our faith standeth in this point,
 that we shall rise again. This
 made St. Paul to wish to be dis-
 solved, and be with Christ. Of
 this article the epistles of St.
 Paul and the New Testament be
 full. To the Romans he writeth:
 "Christ rose again for our jus-
 "tification." To Timothy he
 saith: "Remember that Jesus
 "Christ is risen again from
 "death." The apostles, beside
 other names pertaining to their
 office, be especially called the
 witnesses of Christ's resurrection.
 The which resurrection as it was
 by many and sundry apparitions
 and other infallible arguments
 declared and proved unto them,
 so they did in all places and at
 all times open and inculcate the
 same, as a principal and a chief
 article of Christ's doctrine:
 wherein should depend and rest
 the great comfort and solace of
 all true and faithful believers in
 Christ.*

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restrained him of the power and authority which he by death and hell had over mankind. All which things Christ did not by the might of his godly power only, but for and upon this just and reasonable cause given unto him on the behalf of the Devil, which for the causes aforesaid most worthily deserved to be served so.

Inst. p. 69. Notwithstanding, if any of you shall fortune to commit any || deadly || sin, yet let him consider and remember, that Jesu Christ, which fulfilled all justice for us, and by the sacrificing and offering up of his precious blood, ¹ || made due satisfaction and propitiation || unto God his Father, not only for all our sins, but also for the sins of all the world, is now our continual and perpetual advocate, our patron and defender before the throne of his Father, and maketh continual intercession and prayer for the remission of all our sins.

¹ became
and made
himself our
redeemer,
saviour,
and inter-
cessor
(xxxii.)

Inst. p. 70. Thirdly, it is to be noted, that although it be said in this article that Christ is our only mediator and intercessor², yet thereby is not excluded the ³ || intercession || of the holy saints⁴ which be now in heaven, or hereafter shall be ; neither yet the ⁵ || intercession || of the ministers of Christ's church, or of any the holy members of the same, which be living here in this world. But we must know for certain, that all the⁶ members of Christ's church, whether they be departed this life, or yet living here in the world, be all knit and united together in perfect charity, and each doth care and pray for other continually unto ⁷ || Almighty God, || and that Christ, being head of the same body, is advocate and intercessor for them all⁸, like as it is more at large declared in the tenth article of this Creed.

² to his
Father,
³ media-
tion and
prayers
⁴ to Christ
(xxxiii.)
⁵ media-
tion and
prayers
⁶ true and
perfect
⁷ Christ
⁸ to his
Father,

Inst. p. 74. Like as Christ is the author, the mean, and the very highway to come unto God the Father, so is this Holy Spirit the very conductor, the guide, the director, and the governor, to bring us into the same highway, and to minister unto us

not only ||alacrity and|| strength to walk and run therein, but also perseverance to continue in the same, until we shall come unto our journey's end¹.

Ibid. Thirdly, that it is also the peculiar function or office of this Holy Spirit, (after² we be inspired, and perfectly instructed in the said knowledge,) first to purge and purify our hearts by || this || faith and knowledge from the malice and filthiness of sin, and afterward to stir, inflame, and ravish our hearts, and to make us able gladly and thankfully to embrace and receive the said benefits, and so to keep them, to use them, and to dispose them to our own wealth, and to the edifying and profit of our neighbours³. And finally, to comfort us, and to be unto us in manner as a certain pledge or an earnest penny, to assure and warrant us, by true and infallible tokens, that we⁴ be in the favour of God, and his own children by grace and adoption, and the right inheritors of heaven.

¹ if we accept the same, and join our will to his godly motions.
² baptism by us received, and that
³ that we may attain in the end the place by all true Christian folk to be desired.
⁴ applying our will to his motions (xxxiv.)

Inst. p. 78. Although the lively members of this militant church be subject to the infirmities of their flesh, and fall oftentimes into error and sin, as was said before; yet they always in scripture be called holy, as well because they be sanctified in the blood of Christ, and professing in their baptism to believe in God, and to forsake the Devil and all his works, they be consecrated and dedicated unto Christ; as also for that they be from time to time purged⁵ by the word of God, and by faith, hope, and charity, and by the exercise of other virtues; and finally shall be indued with such grace of the Holy Ghost, that they shall be clearly sanctified and purified from all filthiness, and shall be made the glorious espouse of Christ, shining in all cleanness, without having any spot, or wrinkle, or any other thing worthy to be reprehended.

Inst. p. 80. To the attaining of which faith, it is also to be noted, that Christ hath instituted and ordained in the world but only two means and instruments, whereof the one is the ministration of his word, and the other is the administration of his sacraments instituted by him; so that it is not possible⁶ to attain this faith, but by one or both of these two means, as shall be hereafter declared.

The rest of the degrees prohibited are necessarily to be expressed here also.
(xxxvi.)

*2 did engrave and em- print
3 which soon after blinded to sin, and not preserving the natural light, so ran in darkness by long continuance and process of time: whereby
4 which God perceiving and willing man to return from darkness*

5 they dying in that grace which by the sacrament of baptism is conferred to them, and not by sin alter the same.
(xxxvii.)
*6 having time and space
7 only
8 chiefly*
(xxxviii.)

Inst. p. 83. God prohibited that any matrimony should be made between the father and the daughter, the mother and the son, the brother and the sister, and between divers other persons, being in certain degrees of consanguinity and affinity: which laws of prohibition in marriage, although they were not by express words of God declared at the first institution of matrimony, ne yet at this second repetition of the same, made unto Noe; yet undoubtedly God ² had engraved and enprinted the same laws in the heart of man at his first creation³. And forasmuch as in long continuance and process of time the natural light and knowledge of man was almost by sin and malice extincted, or at the least so corrupted and obscured in the most part of men, that they could not perceive and judge what things were of their own nature naughty and detestable in the sight of God, ne yet how far that natural honesty and reverence which we owe unto such persons as be near of blood, or of near alliance unto us, was extended; ⁴ God commanded his prophet Moses to promulgate and to declare by his word unto the people of Israel the said laws of prohibition of matrimony in certain degrees of consanguinity and affinity, which be specially mentioned in the Book of Leviticus.

Inst. p. 93. It is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of all their sins, the grace and favour of God, and everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved⁵.

Inst. p. 96. Like as such men, which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from their naughty life, and ⁶ do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

Inst. p. 97. The penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of his elect children, not ⁷ for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but ⁸ for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

² [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 270.]

Inst. p. 98. *Item*, That the people may in no wise contemn this auricular confession, which is made unto the ministers of the church; but that they ought to repute the same as a very expedient and necessary mean, ||whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the priest's hands,|| at such time as they shall find their consciences grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do,¹ to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences. (xxxix.)

As touching the third part of penance, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient oblation, ²sacrifice, ||satisfaction, and recompence,|| for the which God the Father forgiveth and remit-
teth to all sinners not only their sins, but also eternal pain due for the same; ³||yet all men truly|| penitent, contrite, and con-
fessed, ⁴||must needs also|| bring forth the fruits of penance, that
is to say, prayer, fasting, and almsdeed, with much mourning and lamenting for their sins before committed. And they must also
make restitution or satisfaction in will ||and deed|| to their neigh-
bours, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury
in. And finally they must do all other good works of mercy and
charity, and express their obedient will in the executing and ful-
filling of God's commandment outwardly, when time, power, and
occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never
be saved. For this is the express precept and commandment of
God, Do you the worthy fruits of penance. And St. Paul saith, Luke iii.
Like as in times past you have given and applied yourselves, and Rom. vi.
all the members of your bodies, to all filthy living and wickedness,
continually increasing in the same; in like manner you be now
bound, and must give and apply yourselves wholly to justice, in-
creasing continually in purity and cleanness of life. And in an-
other place he saith, I chastise and subdue my carnal body, and the
affections of the same, and make them obedient unto the spirit.

Item, That these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation; and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same, whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto him so to do.

Item, That by penance, and *Item*, That though by baptism such good works of the same, and faith we become the children we shall not only obtain ever- of Christ, yet we living in this

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lasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of the present pains and afflictions, which we sustain here in this world.

vale of misery, and continuing in the same, shall by penance and other good works of the same be made meet and apt and assured to receive the virtue of Christ's passion, (xli.) which is our everlasting life, and also by them we ^a

In many things God's works be wondrous.

Inst. p. 100. As touching the sacrament of the altar, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption. And that under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very same substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament. And that ¹||therefore|| the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour; and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and ²||religiously|| to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of St. Paul, Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ: wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink³. For whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth it and drinketh it to his own damnation: ||because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ and other kinds of meat.||

¹ further

² straitly

¹ Cor. xi.

³ that he may do it worthily and to his salvation.

The Sacrament of Orders.

As touching the sacrament of ||holy|| orders, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, first, how that Christ

^a [This correction is written on the fly leaf at the end of the volume, but it appears from its purport, and from the number prefixed to Cranmer's Annotation on it, to belong to this place. It was probably intended to be substituted for, "*Item, that by penance—also we.*"]

and his apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that besides the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, (which is called *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword,) there should also be continually in the church militant certain ||other|| ministers or officers, which¹ should have special² ||power, au-^{1 being cho-}thority, and commission,|| under Christ, ³||to preach and teach the^{sen as the} word of God unto his people; to dispense and administer the sa-^{apostles} craments of God unto them, and by the same to confer and give^{were, and} the graces of the Holy Ghost; to consecrate the blessed body of^{living ad} Christ in the sacrament of the altar; to loose and absoyle from^{normam} sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to^{Scrip-} bind and to excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes^{tura,} and sins⁴, and will not amend their defaults; to order and conse-^b crate others in the same room, order, and office, whereunto they^{2 cure, au-} be called and admitted themselves; and finally,|| to feed Christ's^{thority,} people, like good pastors and rectors, (as the apostle calleth them,)^{power, and} with their wholesome doctrine^{adminis-}; and by their continual exhorta-^{tration} tions and admonitions to reduce them from sin and iniquity, so^{given by} much as in them lieth, and to bring them unto the perfect know-^{God unto} ledge, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect^{them} charity of their neighbours.

Item, That this office, this ministration, this power and author-^{3 as here-} ity^{after fol-}, ||is no tyrannical power, having no|| certain laws or limits^{loweth, first} within the which it ought to be contained, ⁷||nor|| yet none abso-^{that they} lute power; but it is a moderate power, subject, determined, and^{(being ac-} restrained unto those certain ends and limits, for the which the^{cording to} same was appointed by God's ordinance; which, as was said be-^{the laws} fore, is only to administer and distribute unto the members of^{of every re-} Christ's mystical body spiritual and everlasting things, that is to^{gion elect} say, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Christ's gospel, and the^{and consti-} graces conferred in his sacraments; and further to do and execute^{tute) have} such other things appertaining unto their office, as were before^{cure of soul,} rehearsed.^{authority to}

^{4 expressed} ^{5 clean liv-} ^{6 to bind} ^{and excom-} ^{to conse-} ^{crates sacra-} ^{ments,} ^(xliiii.) ^{and to ad-} ^{minister the} ^{same with} ^{conferring} ^{and giving} ^{the gifts of} ^{the Holy} ^{Ghost have} ^{7 and}
^b [These corrections are written in so confused a manner in the original, that they have been here arranged in great measure by conjecture. Henry VIII. was evidently much dissatisfied with this article *Of Orders*, for the marks of his pen occur in all parts of it, and he has frequently expressed his disapprobation of particular passages by the word *nihil*. It was probably re-written before it was submitted to Cranmer, for he here refers, not as usual, to the number of the leaf in the printed book, but to "*fo. script.*" i. e. to a manuscript leaf inserted. As might be expected from the King's objections, the article is very much altered in *The Necessary Doctrine*. See that Formulary, p. 278.]

1 And that they should be so vigilant upon their flock, that they should not suffer them to be Inst. p. 102. ¹||And that they should also not cease from the execution of their said office, until all the said members were not only reduced and brought unto the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God; but also that they were come unto a perfect state and full age therein, that is to say, until they were so established and confirmed in the same, that they could no more

afterward be wavering therein, and be|| led or carried like children into any contrary doctrine or opinion, by the craft and subtile persuasion of the false pastors and teachers, which go about by craft to bring them into erroneous opinions: but that they should constantly follow the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, growing and increasing continually by charity unto a perfect member of that body, whereof Christ is the ²||very|| head.

3 order Inst. p. 104. Thirdly, because the said ³||power|| and office, or ||function,|| hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things⁴.

4 the occupiers thereof being such as afore.

Note, that there were no Kings Christian under whom they did dwell.
5 also

Inst. p. 104. Item, That this office, this power, and authority, was committed and given by Christ and his apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto, by their prayer and imposition of their hands.

||Second,|| we think it ⁵convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that the sacrament of orders may worthily be called a sacrament, ||because it is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and his apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, like as the other sacraments of the church do, that is to say, of a spiritual and an invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in this sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned. The visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands upon the person which receiveth the said gift or grace. And|| ⁶to the intent the church of Christ should never be destituted of such ministers, as should have and execute the said ⁷power ||of the keys,|| it was also ordained and commanded by the apostles, that the same sacrament should be applied and administered by the bishop from time to time unto such other persons as had the qualities necessarily

6 and that it was instituted
7 former

required thereunto; which said qualities the apostles did also very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chapter of the first Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, and the first chapter of his Epistle unto Titus.¹

¹ *Quare non hic exprimitur?*
² *farther it is*

Inst. p. 108. And ²||in this part also two things be|| to be noted. ||The first is,|| that all punishment which priests or bishops may, by the authority of the gospel, inflict or put to any person, is by word only, and not by any violence or constraint corporal. ³||The ³ *also* second is,|| that although priests and bishops have the power and jurisdiction to excommunicate, as is aforesaid, yet they be not bound so precisely by any commandment of God, but that they ought and may attemper, moderate, or forbear the execution of their said jurisdiction in that part at all times, whensoever they shall perceive and think that by doing the contrary they should not cure or help the offenders, or else give such occasion of further trouble and unquietness in the church, that the peace and tranquillity thereof might thereby be impeached, troubled, or otherwise interrupted or broken.

⁴||The second point, wherein consisteth|| the jurisdiction committed unto priests and bishops, by the authority of God's law, is to approve and admit such persons as (being nominated, elected, and presented unto them to exercise the office and room of preaching the gospel, and of ministering the sacraments, and to have the cure of jurisdiction over these certain people within this parish or within this diocese) shall be thought unto them meet and worthy to exercise the same; and to reject and repel from the said room such as they shall judge to be unmeet therefore. And in this part we must know and understand, that the said presentation and nomination ||is of man's ordinance, and|| appertaineth unto the founders and patrons, or other persons, according to the laws and ordinances of men provided for the same ⁵. ⁴ *Farther* ⁵ *in every region.*

Inst. p. 110. ||The third point, wherein consisteth the jurisdiction committed unto priests and bishops by the authority of God's law, is to make and ordain|| ⁶certain rules or canons, ⁷||con- ⁶ *Moreover concerning* ⁷ *establish-* cerning|| holydays, fasting days, the manner and ceremonies to be used in ⁸the ministration of the sacraments, the manner of ⁸ *the church in* singing the psalms and spiritual hymns, (as St. Paul calleth them,) the diversity of degrees among the ministers, and the form

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and manner of their ornaments, and finally concerning such other rites, ceremonies, and observances as do tend and conduce to the preservation of quietness and decent order to be had and used among the people when they shall be assembled together in the

temple¹. For sith that scripture commandeth that all Christian people should at certain times assemble themselves, and convene together in some public or open place, there to invoke and call upon the name of God, there to hear his will and his word by ||our|| preachers, there to receive the sacraments, there to give laud and praise to God in psalmody, in prayers, in meditations, and in reading; and finally, with all humility and reverent order, to magnify, extol, and set forth the honour of God with all our possible power: and forasmuch also as great trouble, unquietness, and

tumult might arise among the multitude so assembled, in case there were no certain rules, ordinances, and ceremonies prescribed unto them, whereby they should be contained in quietness, and not suffered to do every man after his own fashion or appetite; 2||it belongeth unto the jurisdiction of priests or bishops to|| make certain rules or canons concerning all these things, and for the causes aforesaid.

2 it is therefore thought requisite and right necessary that the clergy should

Inst. p. 111. Although the whole jurisdiction appertaining (as is aforesaid) unto priests and bishops be committed unto them in general words, (as it appeareth by divers places of scripture, and specially in the 20th chapter of the Acts³, where the apostle saith, Take diligent heed to yourselves, and to all your whole flock, among whom the Holy Ghost hath set, ordained, and made you bishops, to rule and govern the church of God,) yet there is also a particular order, form, and manner requisite to the due execution of the same; according to the saying of St. Paul, Look that all things be done in the church seemly and in a decent order⁴.

3 Here is cure spoken of, and not jurisdiction or power.

4 videlicet, as far as you have power in.

Inst. p. 114. ||The second thing to be noted is, that like as it is the will and commandment of God that priests and bishops should, in the execution of all those things which appertain unto

their jurisdiction by the authority of the gospel, (as is afore-said,) attemper their doings and proceedings with all charity and mildness, and should foresee by their singular wisdom that they pronounce no sentence, nor prescribe or make any constitution or ordinance which may in any wise be prejudicial or hurtful unto their flock, but such as undoubtedly do tend as well to the good preservation and increase of Christ's true religion, as also of Christian charity and tranquillity to be had among them; even so and in like manner||¹ all the people being under their² *1 Also it is thought convenient* cure, and within the limits of their said jurisdiction, ||(of what estate or condition soever they be,) be also bound by the law of *that* God, and by the order and bond of charity,|| ³humbly ||to|| obey ^{2 spiritual} them, and ^{3 should} ||to|| fulfil all their said precepts and ordinances, duly and rightfully made by the authority of ⁴their said jurisdiction; ^{4 Scripture} specially being the same ones received by the common consent of ^{and} the people, and authorized by the laws of the Christian princes.

Inst. p. 116. Finally, being thus declared, not only what is the virtue and efficacy, with the whole institution and use of the sacrament of ||holy|| orders, but also in what things consisteth the power and jurisdiction of priests and bishops, and unto what limits the same is extended ||by the authority of the gospel, and also what is added thereunto by the grants and sufferances, or permission of kings and princes:|| we⁵ think it convenient, that ^{5 bishops} all ||bishops and|| preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto ⁶their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men ^{6 our and} do imagine and affirm that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seignories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh; that is utterly false and untrue: for Christ never gave unto St. Peter, or unto any of the apostles, or their successors, any such authority.

Inst. p. 120. Moreover the truth is, that God constituted and ordained the authority of Christian kings and princes to be the most high and supreme above all other powers and offices⁷ in the ^{7 in this world} regiment and governance of ⁸||his|| people: and committed unto ^{8 their}

them, as unto the chief heads of their commonwealths, the cure and oversight of all the people which be within their realms and dominions, without any exception.

Inst. p. 121. We must think and believe that God hath constituted and made Christian kings and princes to be as the chief heads and overlookers over the said priests and bishops, to cause them to administer their office and power committed unto them purely and sincerely; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof¹, to cause them to supply and repair the same again². And God hath also commanded the said priests and bishops to obey, with all humbleness and reverence, all the laws made by the said princes, being not contrary to the laws of God, whatsoever they be; and that not only *propter iram*, but also *propter conscientiam*.

¹ or will not diligently execute the same,
² or else to put other in their place.

Inst. p. 123. Second, that although it be not expressed in Scripture, that the said apostles had then any new commandment of Christ to anoint such as they had healed with oil; yet forasmuch as the holy apostle St. James, indued with the Holy Spirit of Christ, prescribed a certain rule or doctrine, and gave in manner a commandment, that whensoever any person should fortune to fall sick,³ he should call or send for the priests or ancients of the church, and cause them to pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of our Lord⁴; and further added hereunto, as an assured promise, that by the said prayer of the priests and the sick person, made in right faith and confidence in God, the sick man should be restored unto his health, and God should set him on foot again, and if he were in sin, his sins should be forgiven him: || it shall therefore be very necessary and expedient that all true Christian people do use and observe this manner of anointing of sick persons, with due reverence and honour, as it is prescribed by the holy apostle St. James.

³ and

⁴ that then they should minister the same (xlvi.) to him or them so calling for it:

Inst. p. 124. And to the intent the same should be had in more honour and veneration, the said holy fathers willed and taught, that all Christian men should repute and account the said manner of anointing among the other sacraments of the church, || forasmuch as it is a visible sign of an invisible grace: whereof the visible sign is the anointing with oil in the name of God;

which oil (for the natural properties belonging unto the same) is a very convenient thing to signify and figure the great mercy and grace of God, and the spiritual light, joy, comfort, and gladness which God poureth out upon all faithful people, calling upon him by the inward unction of the Holy Ghost. And the grace conferred in this sacrament is the relief and recovery of the disease and sickness wherewith the sick person is then diseased and troubled, and also the remission of his sins, if he be then in sin. This grace we be assured to obtain by the virtue and efficacy of the faithful and fervent prayer used in the ministration of this sacrament of anointing, according to the saying of St. James, before rehearsed, and also according to the sundry promises made by Christ unto the faithful prayer of his church; as when Christ saith, Whatsoever ye shall ask and pray my Father to give unto you in my name, it shall be granted unto you. For the better understanding whereof, two things be here specially to be noted. The first is, that St. James calleth here the prayer to be used in the time of this inunction, the prayer of faith: whereby he meaneth, that this prayer ought to be made in that right faith, trust, and confidence, which we ought to have in God, to obtain the effect of our petitions made in the ministration of this sacrament; and that it ought to contain nothing but that shall stand with the pleasure, the honour, and glory of God; and that when we direct our prayers unto God for any bodily health or relief, or for any other temporal commodity, we ought always to temper our said prayer with this condition, that is to say, if it shall so stand with God's will and his pleasure. And that we ought to say, as Christ said in his prayer unto his Father, Father, if it shall please thee, I am content to die and suffer this shameful and cruel death of the cross. Thy will be fulfilled herein: let not my will and desire be followed, but let thy will and disposition be fulfilled, whereunto I wholly commit myself.||

¹||The second thing to be noted is, that|| to the attaining of the said grace, (xlvi.) conferred in this sacrament of extreme unction, it is expedient ||also|| that the sick person himself shall knowledge his offences towards God and his neighbour, and ask forgiveness of them for the same; and likewise forgive all them that have offended him in word or deed: and so being in perfect love and charity, to pray himself (as he may) with faithful heart, and full hope and confidence in God, for the remission of his sins, and

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restoring unto his bodily health, if it shall so stand with God's pleasure.

Inst. p. 128. Thus being declared the virtue and efficacy of all the seven sacraments, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed to their spiritual charge, that although the sacraments *||of Matrimony,||* of Confirmation, of *||Holy||* Orders, and of Extreme Unction, have been of long time past received and approved by the common consent of the catholic church, to have the name and dignity of sacraments, as indeed they be well worthy to have ; (forasmuch as they be holy and godly signs, whereby, and by the prayer of the minister, be not only signified and represented, but also given and conferred some certain and special gifts of the Holy Ghost, necessary for Christian men to have for one godly purpose or other, like as it hath been before declared ;) yet there is a difference in dignity and necessity between them and the other ¹ *||three||* sacraments, that is to say, the sacraments of ² Baptism, of Penance, (xlviii.) and of the Altar, and that for divers causes. First, because these three sacraments be instituted of Christ, to be as certain instruments or remedies necessary for our salvation, and the attaining of everlasting life. Second, because ³ *||they||* be also commanded by Christ to be ministered and received in their outward visible signs. Thirdly, because they have annexed and conjoined unto their said visible signs such spiritual graces, as whereby our sins be remitted and forgiven, and we be perfectly renewed, regenerated, purified, justified, and made the very members of Christ's mystical body, so oft as we worthily and duly receive the same.

¹ *four*
² *Matrimony,*

³ *that most of them*

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

⁴ *not*
⁵ *nor repute any other God, or*
⁶ *Jesu Christ.*
(xlix.)
⁷ *to the intent to*
⁸ *or honour them as God or Gods.* (1.)

1. THOU shalt⁴ have⁵ *||none other||* gods but me⁶.
2. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing, ne any similitude of any thing that is in heaven above, or in earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth⁷. *||Thou shalt not||* bow down to them, ⁸*||ne worship them||*.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vain.
4. Remember that thou do sanctify and keep holy thy sabbath day.

5. Honour thy father and mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
10. Thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's house, his wife, his servant, his maid, his ox, his ass, ne any other thing that is his¹.

¹ *wrong-
fully or un-
justly. (li.)*

Inst. p. 131. To have God is not to have him as we have other outward things, as clothes upon our back, or treasure in our chests; nor also to name him with our mouth², or to worship² him with kneeling, or other such gestures³: but to have him^{ly} our God is to conceive him in our hearts, to cleave fast and surely unto him with heart and mind, to put all our trust and confidence in him, to set all our thought and care upon him, and to hang wholly of him, taking him to be infinitely good and merciful unto us.

Inst. p. 133. ||And so do they, that by superstition repute (lii.) some days good, some dismal or infortunate; or think it a thing unlucky to meet in a morning with certain kind of beasts, or with men of certain professions. For such superstitious folk infame the creatures of God.||

Item, That they be of the same sort, which by lots, ||astrology,|| divination, chattering of birds, ||physiognomy,|| and looking of men's hands, or other unlawful and superstitious crafts, take upon them certainly to tell, determine, and judge beforehand of men's acts and fortunes, which be to come afterward.

Inst. p. 134. The second commandment Moses declareth at good length in the Book of Deuteronomy, where he speaketh in this manner: In the day when our Lord spake to you in Horeb from the midst of the fire, you heard the voice, and the sound of his words, but you saw no form or similitude, lest peradventure you should have been thereby deceived, and should have made to yourself an engraved similitude or image of man or woman, or a similitude of any manner beast upon earth, or of fowl under heaven, or of any beast that creepeth upon the earth, or of fishes that tarry in the water under the earth; and lest peradventure lifting

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up your eyes to heaven, and there seeing the sun, and the moon, and the stars of heaven, you should by error be deceived, and bow down to them, and worship them, which the Lord hath created to serve all people under heaven¹.

¹ and not
to be ho-
noured as
God. (liii.)

By these words we be utterly forbidden to make or to have any similitude or image, to the intent to bow down to it, or to worship it. And therefore we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed to their spiritual charge, first, that God in his substance cannot by any similitude or image be represented or expressed. For no wit ne understanding can comprehend his substance. And that the fathers of the church, considering the dulness of man's wit, and partly yielding to the custom of gentility, (which before their coming unto the faith of Christ had certain representations of their false gods,) suffered the picture or similitude of the Father of heaven to be had and set up in churches; not that he is any such thing as we in that image do behold, (for he is no corporal ne bodily substance,) but only to put us in remembrance that there is a Father in heaven, and that he is a distinct person from the Son and the Holy Ghost; ¶which thing nevertheless, if the common people would duly conceive of the heavenly Father without any bodily representation, it were more seemly for Christian people to be without all such images of the Father, than to have any of them.¶ (liv.)

² as God,

³ both in
churches
and out of
churches,

Second, that although all images, be they engraven, painted, or wrought in arras, or in any otherwise made, be so prohibited that they may neither be bowed down unto ne worshipped², (forasmuch as they be the works of man's hand only,) yet they be not so prohibited, but that they may be had and set up³ in churches, ¶so it be for none other purpose but only to the intent that we (in beholding and looking upon them, as in certain books, and seeing represented in them the manifold examples of virtues, which were in the saints, represented by the said images) may the rather be provoked, kindled, and stirred to yield thanks to our Lord, and to praise him in his said saints, and to remember and lament our sins and offences, and to pray God that we may have grace to follow their goodness and holy living. As for an example. The image of our Saviour, as an open book, hangeth on the cross in the rood, or is painted in cloths, walls, or windows, to the intent that beside the examples of virtues which we may learn at Christ,

we may be also many ways provoked to remember his painful and cruel passion, and also to consider ourselves, when we behold the said image, and to condemn and abhor our sin, which was the cause of his so cruel death, and thereby to profess that we will no more sin. And furthermore, considering what high charity was in him that would die for us his enemies, and what great dangers we have escaped, and what high benefits we receive by his redemption, we may be provoked in all our distresses and troubles to run for comfort unto him. All these lessons, with many mo,

¶ we may learn in this book of *be brought to our remembrance by the book of the rood, if we being first well instruct and taught what is represented and meant thereby, do diligently behold and look upon it.*

And as the life of our Saviour Christ is represented by this image, even so the lives of the holy saints which followed him be represented unto us by their images. And therefore the said images may well be set up in churches, to be as books for unlearned people, to learn therein examples of humility, charity, patience, temperance, contempt of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and to learn example of all other virtues, and for the other causes above rehearsed. For which causes only images ¹ ¶ be to ¹ may be set in the churches, and not for any honour to be done unto them. For although we use to cense the said images, and to kneel before them, and to offer unto them, and to kiss their feet, and such other things; yet we must know and understand, that such things be not nor ought to be done to the images self, but only to God, and in his honour, or in the honour of the holy saint or saints which be represented by the said images.

Inst. p. 138. The right use of the name of God, and the outward honour of the same, standeth chiefly in these things following, that is to say, in the constant confession of his name, in the right invocation of the same, in giving of due thanks unto God, as well in prosperity as in adversity, ² ¶ and in the preaching and ² and in avowing and sticking to

^b [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 300.]

1 *priests
and bi-
shops* (lv.)

Inst. p. 139. And we¹ must also preach the word of God truly and purely, and set forth the name of God unto other, and reprove all false and erroneous doctrine and heresies. For although priests and bishops only be specially called and deputed as public ministers of God's word, yet every Christian man is bound particularly² to teach³ his family, and such as be under his governance within his house, when time and place requireth⁴.

2 *accord-
ing to his
vocation
and know-
ledge*

3 *and order*

4 *so that as
much as in
them lieth,
they suffer
not open
sin to be
used in
their rule
and family,
but virtue
to be exer-
cised in-
stead of it.*

5 *is not
right nor
reasonable.*

6 *and
toucheth
not their
prince.*

(lvi.)

7 *words
longing to
the conse-
cration*
* (lvi.)

8 *so that we
esteem not
nor wor-
ship them
not, as
givers of
those
gifts, but as
interces-
sors for the
same,*^c

9 *the right
under-
standing
or meaning
that ought
to be con-
ceived of*
(lvii.)

Inst. p. 140. *Item,* That they also do take the name of God in vain, which swear to do that thing which they intended not to do; or swear to forbear that which they intended not to forbear; or swear to do any thing, which to do is unlawful; or swear to leave undone any thing, which to omit or leave undone⁵ is unlawful.|| And such as so swear to do things unlawful, not only offend in such swearing, but also they much more offend, if they perform the thing that they do swear.

Item, That they also break this commandment, which swear to do or to observe any thing which to do and observe they know not whether it be lawful or unlawful; or that make any oath contrary to their lawful oath or promise made before, so long as their former oath or promise standeth in strength⁶.

Ibid. Priests and ministers of Christ's church do also break this commandment, if, in the administration of the sacraments, they yield not the whole efficacy, virtue, and grace thereof to our Lord, as the very author of the same; but ascribe the said efficacy, virtue, and grace, or any part thereof, to themselves: or if any of them do use any⁷ of the sacraments to any conjurations, or any other strange practice, contrary to that holy use for the which they be ordained.

Inst. p. 141. Nevertheless, to pray to saints to be intercessors with us and for us to our Lord for our suits which we make to him, and for such things as we can obtain of none but of him⁸, || so that we make no invocation of them, || is lawful, and allowed by the catholic church.

Inst. p. 142. Notwithstanding it is not necessary to alter⁹ the common speech which is used, nor there is any error therein; so

^c [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 305.]

that the sentence or meaning thereof be well and truly understood, that is to say, that the said altars and churches be not dedicated to any saint, but to God only, and of the saints but a memorial, to put us in remembrance of them, that we may follow their example and living.

Inst. p. 142. As St. Austin saith, All the other nine commandments be moral commandments, and belonged not only to the Jews, and all the other people of the world, in the time of the Old Testament, but also¹ to all Christian people in the New Testament. But this precept of sabbath, as concerning rest from bodily labour the seventh day, pertained only unto the Jews in the Old Testament, before the coming of Christ, and² not to us ^{1 belong now} ^{2 pertaineth} Christian people in the New Testament.

Inst. p. 143. Make thy will to be wrought in us, that from our own corrupt will we may rest and cease. And for this purpose God hath ordained³ || that we should || fast, watch, and labour ; ^{3 these that follow, as remedies, that is to say,} to the end that by these ^{4 and such others} || remedies || we might mortify and kill the evil and sensual desires of the flesh, and attain this spiritual rest and quietness, which is signified and figured in this commandment.

Inst. p. 145. And they that can read may be well occupied upon the holyday, if they read unto other⁵ such good works ^{5 such as they have charge of} which may be unto them instead of a sermon. For all things that edify man's soul in our Lord God be good and wholesome (lviii.) sermons.

Ibid. For notwithstanding all that is afore spoken, it is not meant but that in time of necessity we may upon the holyday give ourselves to labour⁶, as for saving of our corn and cattle, ^{6 so that we neglect not mass and even-song, (lix.)} when it is in danger, or likely to be destroyed, if remedy be not had in time.

Inst. p. 146. Against this commandment generally do offend all they which will not cease and rest from their own carnal wills and pleasure, that God may work in them after his pleasure and will.

Item, All they, which, having no lawful impediment, do not give themselves upon the holyday to hear the word of God, to re-

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member the benefits of God, to give thanks for the same, to pray, and to exercise such other holy works as be appointed for the same; but (as commonly is used) pass the time either in idleness, in gluttony, in riot, or in plays, or other vain and idle pastime¹.

¹ *do break this commandment.*

Inst. p. 147. Therefore concerning such ceremonies of the church², we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that although the said ceremonies have no power to remit sin, yet they be very expedient things to stir and cause us to lift up our minds unto God, and to put us in continual remembrance of those spiritual things which be signified by them.

Ibid. Therefore they be not to be contemned and cast away, but be to be used and continued as things good and laudable for the purposes abovesaid³.

³ *so long as it shall be seen to the head rulers and chief ministers of the church or churches convenient to have them observed and kept.*

The declaration of the fifth Commandment.

AS touching the fifth Commandment, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed to their spiritual charge, first, that by this word *father* is understood here, not only the natural father and mother which did carnally beget us and brought us up, but also || the spiritual father, (lx.) by whom we be spiritually regenerated and nourished in Christ; and || all other governors and rulers under whom we be nourished and brought up, or ordered and guided. || And although this commandment make express mention only of the children or inferiors to their parents and superiors, yet in the same is also understood and comprised the office and duty of the parents and superiors again unto their children and inferiors.||

⁴ *For Deut. xxi.*

Inst. p. 149. ⁴||And, If any man have a stubborn (lxi.) and a disobedient son, which will not hear the voice of his father and mother, and for correction will not amend and follow them, then shall his father and mother take him, and bring him to the judges of the city, and say, This our son is stubborn and disobedient, and despiseth our monitions, and is a rioter and a drunkard. Then shall all the people stone him to death; and thou shalt put away the evil from thee, that all Israel may hear

^d [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 310.]

^e [Ibid. p. 311.]

thereof, and be afraid. And ||in the Book of Exody it is also written, Exod. xxi. He that striketh his father or mother, he shall be put to death.

Inst. p. 151. All bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that all Christian men be bound to exhibit¹ ||and do unto them, which ^{1 a certain reverence and credit unto (lxii.)} under God be|| their spiritual fathers and parents² ||of their ^{2 which hath} souls, the like and the selfsame honour, which (as is aforesaid) children of duty do owe unto their natural fathers.

Item, That these spiritual fathers be|| appointed by God to ^{charge of their souls, and to understand and believe that they be} minister his sacraments unto them, ||to bring them up, and|| to ^{3 and by} feed them with the word of God, ³ ||and to teach them|| his gospel and scripture, ||and by the same to govern,|| to conduct, and ||to|| lead them in the straight way to the Father in heaven ³ everlasting.

Item, That our Saviour Christ, in the gospel, maketh mention as well of the obedience as also of the corporal sustenance which all Christian people do owe unto their spiritual fathers. Of the obedience he saith, that whosoever receiveth you receiveth me. And in another place he saith, He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me. ||And in another place he saith, Whatsoever they bid you do, do it.|| And St. Paul saith, Obey your prelates, and give place unto them: for they⁴ have much charge and care for your souls, as they which ^{4 ought and should} must give an account therefore, that they may do it with joy and not with grief; that is to say, that they may gladly and with much comfort do their cure and charge, when they do perceive that the people be obedient to their teaching: like as on the contrariwise they have little joy or pleasure to do it, when they find the people disobedient and repugnant⁵.

And for the sustenance of their living, which is comprised in this word *honour*, (as before is declared,) Christ saith in the ^{5 and yet nevertheless they be bound to it.} gospel, The workman is worthy his wages. And St. Paul saith, Who goeth on warfare upon his own stipend? And who planteth the vine, and eateth no part of the fruit? And who feedeth the flock, and eateth no part of the milk? And after followeth, Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel. And therefore in another place it is written, Priests or ancients that rule well be worthy of double honour, specially they that labour in the ministration of the

word of God, and his doctrine. In which place the apostle meaneth by *double honour*, not only the reverence which is due unto the spiritual fathers, (as is aforesaid,) but also that all Christian people be bound to minister, find, and give unto their spiritual fathers sufficiency of all things necessary and requisite, as well for their sustenance and finding, as for the quiet and commodious exercising and executing of their said office¹.

¹ if they have it none other way.

Fourthly, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that this commandment also containeth the honour and obedience which subjects owe unto their princes, and also the office of princes towards their subjects. For scripture taketh princes to be, as it were, fathers and nourices to their subjects. And by scripture it appeareth, that it appertaineth unto the office of princes to see that the right religion and true doctrine of Christ may be maintained and taught; and that their subjects may be well ruled and governed by good and just laws; || and to provide and care for them, (lxiii.) that all things necessary for them may be plenteous; || and that the people and common weal may increase; and to defend them from oppression and invasion, as well within the realm as without²; and to see that justice be ministered unto them indifferently; and to hear³ benignly all their complaints; and to shew towards them (although they⁴ offend) fatherly pity.

² they aiding him thereto;
³ or cause to be heard
⁴ ignorantly

Inst. p. 158. No man may kill, or use such bodily coercion, but only princes, and they which have authority from princes. Ne the said ⁵ || princes, ne || any for them, may do the same, but by and according to the just order of their laws⁶.

⁵ inferior rulers, or (lxiv.)
⁶ and ordinances.

Inst. p. 163. They also that do nourish, stir up, and provoke themselves or any other to carnal lusts and pleasures of the body, ⁷ || by uncleanly and wanton words, tales, songs, sights, || touchings, || gay and wanton apparel, and lascivious decking of themselves, || or any such other wanton behaviour and enticement; and also all those which procure any such act, or that minister house, licence, or place thereto; and all counsellors, helpers, and consenters to the same, do grievously offend God, and do transgress this commandment⁸.

⁷ by uncleanly sights and wanton words, (lxv.)

⁸ in procuring of the same. (lxvi.)

Likewise, all they that avoid not the causes hereof so much as

they conveniently may, as ⁹ || surfeiting, sloth, (lxvii.) idleness, im-⁹ use of moderate sleep, || and company of such (both men and women) ^{idleness,} as be unchaste and evil disposed, be guilty of the transgression of this commandment ¹.

¹ if thereby they be provoked

Inst. p. 172. They chiefly be transgressors of this commandment, which, by deliberation and full consent, cast their minds and studies to accomplish the concupiscence and desire which they have to obtain and get another man's wife, child, servant, house, land, corn, cattle, or any thing or goods that be his ².

thereto, or cause others. (lxviii.)

And they also be transgressors of this commandment, which by envy be sorry of their neighbour's wealth and prosperity, or be glad of their sorrow, hinderance, or adversity; and also all they which do not set their minds and studies to preserve, maintain, and defend unto their neighbours (as much as lieth in them) their wives, children, servants, houses, lands, goods, and all that is theirs. For (as before is declared) this commandment not only forbiddeth us to desire³ from our neighbour any thing which is his, ³ but by the same we be also commanded gladly to wish and will unto him that he may quietly possess and enjoy all that God hath sent him, be it never so great abundance. And this mind we ought to bear unto every man by this commandment, not only if they be our friends and lovers, but also if they be our enemies and adversaries.

² without due recompense. (lxix.)

³ unlawfully

Inst. p. 178. 1. Our Father that art in heaven, thy name be hallowed.

2. Thy kingdom come unto us.

3. Thy will be done || and fulfilled || in earth, as it is in heaven.

4. Give us this day our daily bread.

5. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

6. 4 || And lead us not || into temptation.

7. But deliver us from the evil. Amen.

⁴ And suffer not us to be led (lxxi.)

Inst. p. 182. Fifthly, that in these words, *Our Father*, is signified, that we ought to believe, || not only || that Almighty God is the common Father of all Christian people, and equally and differently regardeth the rich and the poor, the free and the bond, the lord and the subject⁵, || but || also that all Christian people ⁶

⁵ touching the soul, and (lxxii.)
⁶ endeavouring

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themselves to live according to his precepts
1 our be Christ's own brethren, and the very coinheritors and comparisoners with him in the kingdom of heaven; and finally, that all Christian men be brethren together, and have all one Father, which is ¹God Almighty.

2 and much to covet
3 endeavour ourselves
4 as long as they so continue.
5 our desert (lxxiii.)
6 as only of ourselves (lxxiv.)
Inst. p. 182. Sixthly, by these words, *which art in heaven*, we be taught, that we ought to have, ||not only|| an inward desire and a great care and study to come to that place where our heavenly Father is, ²||but also an inward sorrow and grief that we be so long kept from|| the presence of our heavenly Father, ||and be subject here unto so manifold cures and thoughts, to so many troubles and misery, and to so many and so grievous perils and dangers of the world, of sin, and of the Devil.|| For like as a loving child is ever desirous to be where his father is, ||and if his father shall depart to any place, he will lament and be sorry, unless he may go with him, and in his absence he will mourn, and at his return he will be joyful;|| even so ought we desire ever to be with our heavenly Father; and to ³||see|| that our conversation be all withdrawn from the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and be set in heaven and heavenly things, as St. Paul saith.

Inst. p. 184. For the Devil (undoubtedly) is king over all the children of pride, that is to say, over all them that be sinners, rebels, and disobedient unto God ⁴.

Inst. p. 186. Make us ||that we impute not to the Devil or evil men,|| when any adversity chanceth unto us; ||but|| that we may attribute all unto ⁵||thy godly will|| and give thee thanks therefore, which dost ordain all such things for our weal and benefit.

Ibid. For the better understanding of this third petition, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, how that by the occasion and ever sith the disobedience and sin of our first father Adam, the will of man hath been so corrupted with original sin, that we be all ⁶utterly inclined to disobey the will and precepts of God, and so to love ourselves and our own wills, that without a special grace and a singular inspiration of God, we cannot heartily love neither God nor man, but in respect to ourselves, as we may have benefit and commodity by them.

Inst. p. 187. Like as corn, though it be never so clean winnowed and purged from chaff, yet if it be sown, the young seed is full of chaff again, until it be winnowed and made clean : even so be the children born full of chaff and corruption of original sin, until that by baptism ¹ || in the blood || of our Saviour Jesu Christ ¹ grace and mercy they be washed and purged, as their parents were.

Inst. p. 188. And to them, to whom thou dost vouchsafe to give more than their own portion necessary for their² vocation ² wife and degree, give thy grace, || that they may be thy diligent and ^{family,} (lxxv.) true dispensators and stewards, || to distribute that they have (over and above that is necessary, considering their estate and degree) to them that have need of it. For so (good Lord) thou dost provide for thy poor people that have nothing, by them which have of thy gift sufficient to relieve themselves and other³. And give also thy grace to us, that we have not too much solicitude and care for these transitory and unstable things ; but that our hearts may be fixed in things which be eternal, and in thy kingdom, which is everlasting. And yet moreover (good Lord) not only give us our necessities, but also conserve that thou dost give us, and cause that it may come to our use, and by us to the poor people, for whom by us thou hast provided. Give us grace, that we may be fed and nourished with all the life of Christ, that is to say, both his words and works ; and that they may be to us an effectual example and spectacle of all virtues. Grant that all they that preach thy word may profitably and godly preach⁴ || thee ⁴ it to the honour of thee and thy Son Jesu Christ which hear thy word preached may so be fed therewith, that not only we may outwardly receive the same, but also digest it within our hearts ; and that it may so work and feed every part of us, that it may appear in all the acts and deeds of our life.

Inst. p. 191. As the husbandman tilleth and soweth his ground,

^a [“The craft of begging slothfully” seems to be the subject of Hen. VIII.’s animadversion here ; but as there is some doubt respecting the words, the orthography of the original manuscript has been preserved.]

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¹ *than
needeth,
but*

weedeth it, and keepeth it from destroying, and yet he prayeth to God for the increase, and putteth all his trust in him to send him more or less at his pleasure; even so, besides our own diligence, policy, labour, and travail, we must also pray daily to God to send us sufficient; and we must take thankfully at his hands all that is sent; and be no further careful¹ || but || put our whole confidence and trust in him.

Inst. p. 192. But seek you first the kingdom of God and his
² *and teach* righteousness, and then God shall cast all these things unto you².
you the
ways justly
and truly
to live.
(lxxvi.)

These be the words of Christ, full of good and comfortable lessons, that we should not care ne set our hearts too much upon these worldly things, ne care so much for to-morrow, that we shall seem to mistrust our Lord;
|| and that we should sequester this care from us, and seek for the kingdom of God, and employ ourselves wholly to the getting thereof: and then he maketh a comfortable promise that we shall not lack things necessary for us. ||

And also here is a thing greatly to be noted in comfort of the true labouring man: for surely, be he craftsman, be he labourer, [he] doing truly his office where-to he is called, shall attain salvation as surely as any other creature, and they that do contrary shall be in jeopardy of damnation. (lxxvii.)

Ibid. Fourthly, that by this bread, which our Saviour teacheth us to ask in this petition, is principally meant the word of God, which is the spiritual bread that feedeth the soul. For as the body is nourished, brought up, groweth, and feedeth with bread and meat; so needeth the soul, even from our youth, to be nourished and brought up with the word of God, and to be fed || daily || (lxxviii.) with it. And like as the body will faint and decay, if it be not from time to time relieved and refreshed with bodily sustenance; even so the soul waxeth feeble and weak towards God, unless the same be || continually || cherished, refreshed, and kept up with the word of God, according to the saying of Christ, A man liveth not with meat only, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God.

³ *we most
humbly be-
seech thee,
that*

Inst. p. 193. Our heavenly Father, ³ || o, || we wretched sinners,

knowledging and confessing ||unto thee, our most merciful Father, || the great and manifold sins wherewith our conscience is continually cumbered, and having none other refuge but unto thy mercy, || we most humbly beseech thee, || ¹ comfort our conscience ¹ *that thou wouldest* both now and in the hour of our death, which is ||now|| abashed and ashamed to look upon our sin and iniquity.

Inst. p. 194. Judge us not after the accusation of the Devil, and our ² ||wretched || consciences, neither hear the voice of our ene- ² *weak* mies, which accuse us day and night before thee. But like as we ³ forgive them heartily which trespass against us, even so we be- ³ *ought to* seech thee forgive us the manifold sins, whereby from our youth ^(lxxix.) we have provoked thy displeasure and wrath against us, and daily do provoke it, by doing that is evil, and omitting that is good. And so wash ⁴ our sins daily more and more. ⁴ *away*

Ibid. We cannot otherwise trust or look for any forgiveness or remission of our trespasses at thy hands, unless we shall, according to thy commandment ⁵ forgive all them ⁶ that have ⁵ *do that lieth in us to* trespassed in any wise against us.

For the better understanding of this fifth petition, we think it ⁶ *in heart* convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people ⁷ ||committed unto their spiritual charge, || that ⁷ *which in spiritual cure are committed to them,* no man ought to glory in himself, as though he were innocent, and without sin; but rather that every good Christian man (without exception) ought to knowledge himself to be a sinner, and that he hath need to ask forgiveness of God for his sins, and to require him of his mercy. For doubtless he daily committeth sin, which is commanded daily to ask remission of his sins. And St. John saith, in his Epistle, If we say that we be without sin, we ⁸ *by this prayer and petition we desire God to* deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us.

Second, that ⁸ ||God will not || forgive us our sins, ⁹ ||but upon condition that we shall likewise || forgive all them which trespass ⁹ *like as we* against us; ¹⁰ ||and that not in tongue only, but also in our hearts. ¹⁰ *and that it is Christ's intent and mind to have us do so, appeareth in many places of Scripture.* And that this is a certain sure law and decree of God, Christ declareth in sundry places of the gospel. || For, first, by express words Christ saith, If you forgive men their offences done against you, your heavenly Father will forgive you your offences. ||And if you will not forgive them that offend you, be you assured your Father will not forgive you your offences. ||

1 eradicate
and take
away all
rancour,
malice, and
will to re-
venge out
of our
heart, and
commit the
punishment
of the of-
fenders
(being con-
trary to
God or the
princes'
laws) to the
order of
justice¹.

Inst. p. 196. Thus it appeareth plainly, that if we will be forgiven, if we will escape everlasting damnation, we must ¹||heartily forgive those which have trespassed and offended against us. No man can offend us so much as we offend God; and yet he is alway ready to forgive us. What ingratitude is it then, what hardness of heart, what cruelty is in us, if we for his sake will not forgive one another! There is none offence great that man doth to man, if it be compared to our offences against God.|| And therefore we may be well accounted to have little respect and consideration unto our own benefit, if we will not remit and forgive small faults done unto us, that we may have pardon and forgiveness of so many thousands of great offences which we have committed against God. And if any peradventure will think it to be a hard thing to suffer and forgive his enemy, which in word and deed hath done him many displeasures, let him consider again, how many hard storms our Saviour Christ suffered and abode for us. What were we, when he gave his most precious life and blood for us, but horrible sinners, and his enemies? How meekly took he for our sake all rebukes, mocks, binding, beating, crowning with thorn, and the most opprobrious death! (lxxx.) || Why do we boast us to be Christian men, if we care not for Christ, of whom we be so named, if we endeavour not ourselves to take example at him? We be not worthy to have the name of the members, if we follow not the Head. And if any will say that his enemy is not worthy to be forgiven, let him consider and think that no more is he worthy to have forgiveness of God. And by what equity or justice can we require that God should be merciful unto us, if we will shew no mercy, but extremity unto our neighbour and brother? Is it a great matter for one sinner to forgive another, seeing that Christ forgave them that crucified him? And although thy enemy be not worthy to be forgiven, yet we be worthy to forgive: and Christ is worthy, that for his sake we should forgive.|| But surely it is above our frail and corrupt nature to love our enemies that do hate us, and to forgive them that do hurt and offend us. Thus to do is a greater grace than can come of ourselves. Therefore our Saviour Christ teacheth us to ask this heavenly gift of our heavenly Father, that we may forgive our enemies, and that he will forgive us our trespasses, even so as we forgive them that trespass against us.

¹[See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 347.]

Thirdly, that to forgive our brother his default is to pray to our Lord that he will forgive him, and will not impute his offence to him; and to wish to him the same grace and glory that we desire unto ourselves; ¹||and in no case to annoy him, but|| when ^{and} occasion shall come, to help him, as we be bound to help our Christian brother.

¶ Fourthly, that none enemy can wish or desire more hurt unto us than we desire unto our own selves, when we offer unto God this fifth petition, if we will not remit and forgive our displeasure unto them which offend us. For what enemy was ever so malicious, or so far from all grace and humanity, that would desire and daily pray to God to send unto his enemy eternal damnation, and that God should withdraw his mercy from him for ever? And surely in this petition we ask continually these things of God for ourselves, if we will be merciless towards our enemies, and will not forgive them their trespasses. For none otherwise we do ask forgiveness of God, but upon this condition, that we shall forgive them which trespass against us. And in case we do not fulfil this condition, then we pray unto God that he shall never shew mercy unto us, nor never forgive us our sins, but suffer us to be damned perpetually.||

Inst. p. 198. Make ² that we may resist and fight against all ^{2 us so strong with thy fortitude,} temptation.

Inst. p. 209. As touching the ³||order|| and cause of our justification, we think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that this word *justification* signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God⁴, || that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.|| ^{3 signification of the word,} ^{4 by Christ.}

⁵ *Item*, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith, joined with charity, after such sort and manner as is before mentioned and declared in the sacrament of penance. Not as though our contrition or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification. For the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake ^{5 Item, That the chief and first mean whereby sinners attain the same justification, (lxxxiv.) was only by the great zeal and love which that Christ bare and beareth to us, undeserved on our behalf; for by his passion and death we attain our redemption and justification,}

*wherefore he most
worthily is to be of us
honoured, and esteem-
ed our sole redeemer
and justifier.*

Jesu Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof. And yet that notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which, as was said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification ; but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments. For although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoined with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life. And we being justified, be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty, to do good works, according to the saying of St. Paul, We be bound not to live according to the flesh and to fleshly appetites ; for if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortify the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the Spirit, we shall be saved. For whosoever be led by the Spirit of God, they be the children of God. And Christ saith, If you will come to heaven, keep the commandments. And St. Paul, speaking of evil works, saith, Whosoever commit sinful deeds, shall never come to heaven. Wherefore all good Christian people must understand and believe certainly, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost, that is to say, to dread and fear God ; to love God ; to have firm confidence and trust in God ; to invoke and call upon God ; to have patience in all adversities ; to hate sin ; and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again ; and such other like motions and virtues. For Christ saith, We must not only do outward civil good works, but we must also have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

Annotations upon the King's book.^a

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. C. C. C. C.
MSS. civ.
p. 241.

And in Jesu Christ his only Son our Lord :

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary : *The Fa-
thers of the
English
Church.*
vol.iii.p.77.

He suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was crucified, died, and was buried, and descended into hell :

The third day he arose again from death :

He ascended into heaven, and sitteth upon the right hand of God :

From thence he shall come to judge both quick and dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost :

And that there is an holy catholic church :

A communion of saints, remission of sins :

And that there shall be resurrection of the body :

And life everlasting. Amen.

This Credo I have translated as nigh as I can conveniently, word for word, according to the Latin.^b

(i.^c) *By his ordinate power.* This word *ordinate power* obscureth the sentence in the understanding of them that be simple and unlearned ; and among the learned it gendereth contention and disputation, rather than it any thing edifieth. Therefore, meseemeth it better and more plain as it is in the print ; or else to say, " By his ordinance." For the Scripture speaketh simply and plainly, *Potestati ejus quis resistit ? Et, Omnia quæcunque voluit, fecit.*

(ii.) *But by his grace.* It seemeth these words were better out ; for God giveth not his grace to let his own power and ordinance.

^a [i. e. A copy of *The Institution* corrected by Henry VIII. See note, p. 21. and *Letters* of 14th and 25th Jan. [1538.]]

^b [See *Institution*, p. 29. and *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 226.]

^c [These *Annotations* are numbered as in the original manuscript. As corresponding numerals have been added to Henry VIII.'s *Corrections*, the passage to which each relates may be readily found.]

(iii.) *Only by his sufferance.* This word *sufferance* diminisheth the goodness of God, and agreeth not with the three verbs to whom it is referred, *create, make, and give*; for these three verbs import more than sufferance; and all the things that be here spoken of, be good and none of them evil, and therefore we may undoubtedly say, that we have them of God's gift, and by his liberal benefit.

(iv.) *As long as I persevere in his precepts and laws, one of the right inheritors of his kingdom.* This book speaketh of the pure Christian faith unfeigned, which is without colour, as well in heart, as in mouth. He that hath this faith, converteth from his sin, repenteth him, that he like *filius prodigus* vainly consumed his will, reason, wits, and other goods, which he received of the mere benefit of his heavenly Father, to his said Father's displeasure; and applieth himself wholly to please him again, and trusteth assuredly, that for Christ's sake he will and doth remit his sin, withdraweth his indignation, delivereth him from hell, from the power of the infernal spirits, taketh him to his mercy, and maketh him his own son and his own heir: and he hath also the very Christian hope, that after this life he shall reign ever with Christ in his kingdom. For St. Paul saith, *Si filii sumus, et hæredes; hæredes quidem Dei, cohæredes autem Christi.*

This is the very pure Christian faith and hope, which every good Christian man ought to profess, believe, and trust, and to say of himself, even as Job said, *Scio quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum, et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum, quem visurus sum ego ipse, et non alius. Reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo.*

And as for the other faith, that the good shall arise unto glory, and the evil unto pain; or that those which "per-severe in God's precepts and laws, so long as they so do, "they be the right inheritors of his kingdom;" this is not the commendation of a Christian man's faith, but a most certain proposition, which also the devils believe most certainly, and

yet they shall never have their sins forgiven by this faith, nor be inheritors of God's kingdom; because they lack the very Christian faith, not trusting to the goodness and mercy of God for their own offences; but they hate God, envy his glory, and be utterly in desperation.

For the more large declaration of the pure Christian faith, it is to be considered, that there is a general faith, which all that be Christian, as well good as evil, have: as, to believe that God is, that he is the Maker and Creator of all things, and that Christ is the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, and for his sake all penitent sinners have remission of their sins; and that there shall be a general resurrection at the end of this mortal world, at the which Christ shall judge all the good to joy without end, and the evil to pain without end; with such other like things. And all these things even the devils also believe, and tremble, for fear and grievousness of God's indignation and torments, which they endure and ever shall do. But they have not the right Christian faith, that their own sins by Christ's redemption be pardoned and forgiven, that themselves by Christ be delivered from God's wrath, and be made his beloved children, and heirs of his kingdom to come.

The other faith have all devils and wicked Christian people, that be his members; but this pure Christian faith have none, but those that truly belong to Christ, and be the very members of his body, and endeavour themselves to persevere in his precepts and laws: although many pretend to have the said pure faith, which nevertheless have it not, but only in their mouths. For as there is a love in the mouth, and a love in the heart, even so there is a faith in mouth and a faith in heart. Examine every man, if he trust in God and love God above all things; and in words, he will answer, yea; but examine every man's acts and deeds, and surely in a great number their acts and deeds condemn their words. For they walk after their own wills and pleasures, and not after God's commandments. And Christ himself saith, *Qui diligit me, mandata mea servat*: and St.

John saith, *Qui dicit se nosse Deum, et m mandata ejus non custodit, mendax est.*

And therefore all those that bridle not their own appetites, but follow them, and accomplish the will of their own carnal minds, they trust in God and love God no further than the lips. And if they persuade themselves that they trust in God, and love God in their hearts, and be of any estimation before God, then be they much deceived, and as St. Paul saith, *They deceive their own hearts.* Our own flesh and carnal mind is contrary to the Spirit and motion of God, and *they*, saith St. Paul, *that belong unto Christ, do crucify their flesh with the affections and lusts thereof.* And contrary, he saith, they that follow the works of the flesh *shall not inherit the kingdom of God.*

These be very notable and fearful sentences unto all such as be not repentant, but live after their own wills and not after God's will, neither have the right faith nor love unto God, nor shall be inheritors of his kingdom. And though Christ hath paid a sufficient ransom for all the sins in the world, and is a sufficient Redeemer and Saviour of all the world, yet shall they have no part thereof, for they belong not unto Christ; and Christ utterly refuseth them for his, which have faith and love only in their mouth, and have not the same engraven in their hearts, and expressed in their acts and deeds.

St. James assimileth him, that hath this faith only in his mouth, unto a man that pitieth his naked or hungry brother, and biddeth him go warm him, or fill his belly; and yet will give him neither clothes nor meat, wherewith he may warm him or feed his hungriness. What availeth this mercy spoken only with the tongue, when he showeth no mercy in deed, in relieving his brother's necessity? But St. James saith, *So say, so do;* for he shall not receive mercy of God that speaketh mercifully, except he hath the same in his heart to do it in deed. For the mercy that is not in the heart, dieth even in the mouth, and he shall have judgment without mercy that showeth not mercy in deed, how

mercifully that ever he speak. And as the body is but dead that lacketh a soul, even so is that faith but dead that is but in the mouth, and doth not enter effectuously into the heart, and work accordingly.

What love soever the son pretendeth unto his father, or the servant unto his master; yet surely, all that love is but coloured and feigned, if they be not glad to accomplish the will and commandments of their father and master, and very loath and sorry to transgress any part thereof. Likewise how can the son persuade with himself that his father loveth him, favoureth him, and will do all good for him, and at length make him his heir, if he love not his father, nor be sorry to offend his father, but, like an unnatural and disobedient child, is ready to follow his own sensual mind, and to rebel against his father and all his precepts? It is not possible, that such a son should have a sure trust of his father's benignity, gracious goodness, and fatherly love towards him, unless it come either of the ignorance or else the iniquity of his father, so that he either dissemble with his father, and trust that his father knoweth not of his folly, disobedience, and rebellion; or else that he know that his father be so evil himself, that he favoureth ill-doers, and delighteth in the iniquity of his son, and loveth him never the worse for his vicious living. But to God (who knoweth all things, even before they be done, and knoweth all men's hearts even to the bottom better than they do themselves, and who also can favour no iniquity or malice of sin, but hateth it and the doers of the same) cannot be ascribed any ignorance or evilness. Therefore, let no man deceive his own mind; for no man surely can have the right faith and sure trust of God's favour towards him, and persuade with himself that God is his benign and loving Father, and taketh him for his well-beloved son and heir, except he love God in his heart, and have a willing and glad mind, and a delight to do all things that may please God, and a very great repentance and sorrow that ever he did any thing that should offend and displease so loving a Father, whose goodness he can never account.

And, as sure as it is, that God loveth and favoureth them that be thus minded ; even, as certain it is, that God hateth all those wicked children that love not him, and that be otherwise minded, that follow their own will, and rebel against his will. So that all such, what faith or love soever they pretend and say they have toward God, it is but in the lips and words only, and not in the heart altereth the whole man from all evil unto all good. Even as treacle kept only in the mouth, doth not remedy poison in the whole body ; but the treacle must enter down into the body, and then it altereth the whole body, and expelleth all venom and poison. In like manner, he whose profession of his faith is only in his mouth, altereth not his evil life, is not forgiven his sin, is not delivered from hell nor from the power of devils, is not made the son of God ; but he continueth still in the poison of sin, in the wrath and indignation of God, and in the damnation of the wicked in hell.

But, if the profession of our faith of the remission of our own sins enter within us into the deepness of our hearts ; then it must needs kindle a warm fire of love in our hearts towards God, and towards all other for the love of God—a fervent mind to seek and procure God’s honour, will, and pleasure in all things,—a good will and mind to help every man and to do good unto them, so far as our might, wisdom, learning, counsel, health, strength, and all other gifts which we have received of God, will extend—and, *in summa*, a firm intent and purpose to do all that is good, and leave all that is evil. This is the very right, pure, perfect, lively, Christian, hearty, and justifying faith, *which worketh by love*, as St. Paul saith, and suffereth no venom or poison of sin to remain within the heart, *Fide Deus purificans corda*, (Acts xv.) but gendereth in the heart an hatred unto all sin, and maketh a sinner clean a new man. And this is the faith which every Christian man ought to profess in his creed, and of this faith runneth all our paraphrasis upon the same. For, as for the other feigned, pretended, hypocritical, and adulterate faith in the mouth, it is but only a

painted visor before men; but before God it is hollow within, dead, rotten, and nothing worth.

This being declared, in my judgment it shall not be necessary to interline or insert in many places, where we protest our pure Christian faith, these words or sentences, that be newly added, namely, "I being in will to follow God's precepts;" "I rejecting in my will and heart the Devil and his works;" "I willing to return to God;" "If I continue not in sin;" "If I continue a Christian's life;" "If I follow Christ's precepts;" "We living well;" "If we order and conform our wills in this world to his precepts;" "If we join our wills to his godly motions;" and such other like sentences or clauses conditional, which to the right faith need not to be added: for without these conditions is no right faith. And these sentences, methinks, come not in aptly in some places, as they be brought in, but rather interrupt and let the right course and phrase of the paraphrasis, and obscure the same rather than make it clear. In this part I have spoken the more largely, because I do refer unto this fourth note all other places like to the same matter appertaining.

(v.) *By his grace and mercy.* This obscureth the sentence, and is superfluous: for it is sufficiently expressed by the former words, that is to say, "by his mere goodness only."

(vi.) *By his ordinance.* This also obscureth the sense, and is superfluous.

(vii.) *Ordained.* The preter tense may not conveniently be joined with the present tense.

(viii.) *Sometime be suffered by him, and sometime sent by his visitation.* And that when he punisheth me he doth not punish. The sentence, as it is printed, runneth more evenly, and is very comfortable to every good man in all sickness and adversities to take all such things to be of God's hand by his visitation. For as of meat, drink, clothing and such like, which other men prepare for us, or give unto us, we say, as we ought indeed to say, that we have all of God's hand, although other men or creatures be God's ministers

therein, even so ought we to take all sickness and adversity in this world with all humility and gladness, as the rod of Almighty God, whereby he justly and lovingly scourgeth and punisheth us for our correction and reformation; yea, although it be sent unto us from him by ministration of wicked angels or men, as it shall appear more at length in the Annotation lxxiii.

(ix.) *As afore.* These words do let and interrupt the course of the paraphrasis, and if they should be put in this place, there must be added more, viz. "as before is said."

(x.) *I being Christian, and in will to follow his precepts.* He that hath the true faith in heart is Christian, and in will to follow his precepts; ut supra ad iv. Annotationem.

(xi.) *And shall continue as long as the world lasteth.* This maketh the sentence very dark and ambiguous, to what noun the verb "continue" is referred; whether to the powers, or to the function and office. And I cannot perceive any manner of consideration, why those words should be put in that place.

(xii.) *Rejecting in my will and heart the Devil and his works.* His heart is not replenished with a right faith, which in will and heart rejecteth not the Devil and his works; ut supra ad iv.

(xiii.) *Before my reconciliation.* These words be superfluous; for the true faithful heart is already reconciled; and the place can no otherwise be understand but of sins committed before reconciliation; for immediately before be written these words, "for all actual sins that ever I have committed:" which words cannot be extended to them which I shall commit hereafter.

(xiv.) *Willing to return to him.* It is good to speak of our redemption after the fashion of the Scripture, which useth ever to say, that Christ hath spoiled the Devils, and redeemed the world, without this or any like addition; *Ipsæ*, saith the Scripture, *spoliavit principatus et potestates*; et, *Passus est pro peccatis nostris, non solum autem nostris, sed et totius mundi.* And thus the Scripture speaketh, to set forth only the glory of our redemption by Christ. And

he that hath the pure faith is not only willing, but also indeed returneth to Christ; ut supra ad iv.

(xv.) *By his grace first called, and then by the faith.* Calling for God's grace precedeth not faith: but, contrary, faith must needs precede our invocation of God, as St. Paul saith: *Quomodo invocabunt in quem non crediderunt?*

(xvi.) *Which I am void of, if I continue in sin.* These words may stand, but they were sufficiently expressed before by these words: "while he is my Lord and Governor, "and I under his protection."

(xvii.) *I doing my duty.* We may not say that we do our duty. Nevertheless he hath not the right faith in his heart, that hath not a good heart and will to do his duty; ut supra ad iv. But no man doth do all his duty, for then he needeth not to have any faith for the remission of his sins. Therefore this particle following, "that all my sins "be washed away."

(xviii.) *In simili, though their powers be not comparable to his.* *In simili* is superfluous; for the same is before spoken in English, "even so:" also the rest is not true; for we may compare God's power and acts unto his creatures *in similitudine*, but not *in equalitate*.

(xix.) *If we so die.* This condition taketh away the right belief of a faithful man: for the faithful man trusteth surely in God's goodness, that he will give him grace so to die. So that it pertaineth as well to our faith, that we should so die, as that we should be saved; ut supra ad iv.

(xx.) *Continuing a Christian's life.* These words be superfluous, for continuance of a Christian's life pertaineth unto a pure faith; ut supra ad iv.

(xxi.) *Man adhibiting his will thereto.* This interrupteth the phrase of speech; and man's will is most amply and fully contained in the words next immediately following, "contrition and penance^d."

(xxii.) *The gift of calling by many ways the sinner from sin, and such other.* Calling is no gift of God in us, as all

^d [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 242.]

the other following be, but the operation of God toward us.

(xxiii.) *Any member of Christ's mystical body, &c.* This particle, I confess, I never well understood, neither as it was by us made, nor as it is now corrected; but I consented thereto only, because there is no evil doctrine therein contained, as far as I perceive and discern^e.

(xxiv.) *If fault be not in themselves.* This article speaketh only of the elect, in whom finally no fault shall be, but they shall perpetually continue and endure^f.

^e [This "particle," which Cranmer could not understand, is not found in the *Nec. Doctr.* p. 243.]

^f [This, and some of the following *Annotations*, may seem to countenance the doctrine of Final Perseverance; but they must be read in connection with the passages to which they belong. It will be seen on referring to these, that they relate to that holy congregation which shall hereafter enjoy everlasting life. Henry VIII. however seems to have misunderstood their application, and to have added in consequence his conditional clauses. These additions might have been very proper, if the persons described had been Christians still in a state of probation; but when applied either "to holy saints which be now in "heaven," or to those whose future admittance there was assumed, they were obviously out of place. This appears to have been the ground on which Cranmer objected to them; and thus his remarks would leave the question of Final Perseverance wholly untouched. See p. 32, 33; and *The Institution*, p. 52, 53.]

If the above explanation is not admitted, this must be added to the cases in which Cranmer changed his opinions; for there can be no doubt respecting the views which he subsequently entertained on this point. In the *Necessary Doctrine*, &c. to which he was a party, it is taught, that "it is expedient for us to live in continual watch, and continual fight with our enemies, the Devil, the flesh, and the world, and "not to presume too much of our perseverance and continuance in "the state of grace, which on our behalf is uncertain and unstable." p. 224. See also p. 244. At a later period, when there could be no suspicion of his surrendering his opinions to the will of his Sovereign, he wrote thus in his own *Homily of Faith*; "A steadfast hope—that al- "though we through infirmity or temptation of our ghostly enemy do "fall from him by sin, yet if we return again unto him by true repent- "ance, that he will forgive and forget our offences for his Son's sake." And in his *Homily of Good Works* he cites with approbation a passage from Chrysostom on the justification of the thief on the cross, in which it is asserted, that if the thief "had lived, and not regarded faith and the "works thereof, he should have *lost his salvation again*." And again, in his *Sermon against Rebellion*, 1549, he says, "If we will harden our "hearts, and will not now be repentant of our misdoings, God will surely "strike us clean out of his book." In the *Homily of Falling from God*, which undoubtedly was sanctioned by him, though there is no evidence of his being its author, the same doctrine, as might be anticipated from the title, is enforced at greater length.]

(xxv.) *If wilfully and obstinately they withstand not his calling.* Likewise the elect shall not wilfully and obstinately withstand God's calling.

(xxvi.) *And that all particular churches.* This word "these" must needs remain, and not be put out; and it were better to say, "and that all these particular churches," for if there be any particular church, out of the number of the elect, it is no (number) [member?] of this universal holy church.

(xxvii.) *And so continuing.* Continuance is comprehended in faith; for if I believe not that I shall continue in the holy catholic church, I cannot believe that I shall have any benefit by Christ; ut supra ad iv.

(xxviii.) *Following Christ's steps, or when we fall repent our fault.* The elect, of whom is here spoken, will follow Christ's precepts, and rise again when they fall; and the right faith cannot be without following of Christ's precepts, and repentance after falling. See the fourth annotation. Therefore in my judgment it were better to say thus; "The elect shall follow Christ's precepts, or when they fall, they shall repent and rise again, and obtain remission," &c.

(xxix.) *Obstinately and without repentance.* These words need not; for without obstinacy, and lack of repentance, no man is out of the catholic church.

(xxx.) *We living well.* The right faith requireth good living; but yet our triumph and victory over the Devil, hell, and death, standeth not in our well living, but in Jesus Christ; to whom, whensoever we convert in heart and mind, we have the triumph and victory of the Devil and sin, notwithstanding our evil life before. See the fourth annotation.

(xxxi.) *If we order and conform our will in this world to his precepts.* Whether we order our will to his precepts or not, we shall rise from death to life, but not to the glorious life. And yet to the glorious life also we shall rise, though we have not in all things conformed our will to God's will, but have repugned to his will, so that we be repentant and

z [See Nec. Doctr. p. 244.]

amend, as David, Peter, and Paul did. And the true faithful man endeavoureth himself to conform his will to God's will in all things, and to walk right forth in all his precepts. And where by infirmity he chanceth to take a fall, he lieth not still, but by God's help riseth again. And his trust is so much in God, that he doubteth not in God's goodness toward him, but that, if by fragility and weakness he fall again, God will not suffer him so to lie still, but put his hand to him and help him up again, and so at the last he will take him up from death unto the life of glory everlasting^h.

(xxxii.) *Became, and made himself our Redeemer, Saviour, and Intercessor.* "Satisfaction," which is put out, meseemeth in any wise should stand still, to take away the root, ground, and fountain of all the chief errors, whereby the bishop of Rome corrupted the pure foundation of Christian faith and doctrine. For upon this satisfaction did he build his sticks, hay, and straw, satisfactory masses, trentals, *scala cæli*, foundations of chantries, monasteries, pardons, and a thousand other abuses, to satisfy the covetousness of him and his; and yet for their covetousness there never could be found any satisfaction, that is to say, any thing that could satisfy it.

(xxxiii.) *Mediation and prayers of holy saints to Christ.* Because that St. Paul saith, that *there is but one Mediator between God and man, and that is Christ Jesus*, which doctors expound to be understand of mediation by redemption, not of mediation by prayer; therefore I think it better to say, "ⁱmediation by prayer of holy saints," putting "by" in the stead of "and." And the same is spoken twice. It is written there also, that "the members of Christ should "be mediators by prayer one for another only unto Christ;" which is not true; for, as St. Paul saith in divers places, by Christ we have also access unto the Father. And Christ in all places teacheth us to pray unto the Father, *Pater noster*;

^h [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 235.]

ⁱ [Cranmer's amendment was adopted in the *Nec. Doctr.* p. 237.]

et, *Adorabitis Patrem in spiritu et veritate*; et, *Flecto genua mea ad Patrem*.

(xxxiv.) *Applying our will to his motions.* Our faith and trust that we be in God's favour and his own children, hangeth not of our own merits and applying of our will to his motions: for, insomuch as many times the good men do the contrary, that were the ready way unto desperation. Therefore if any thing should be here added, it were good, in mine opinion, to say thus; "that we, which be renovate
" by the same Spirit, and do convert our lives from follow-
" ing our own carnal wills and pleasures, and repenting us
" that we have followed the same, (and) [do?] now apply our
" minds to follow the will of that Holy Spirit, be in the fa-
" vour of God," &c.

(xxv.) *Which in spiritual cure are committed to them.* It is small difference between "cure" and "charge," but that the one is plain English, and the other is deducted out of the Latin. And as for the diversity between these two sayings, "they are committed to them in cure or charge," and "they be committed to their cure or charge," is no more, I suppose, than is between these two; "it is committed to
" me in custody," and, "it is committed to my custody;" which I reckon to be all one.

(xxxvi.) *Nota, that the rest of the degrees prohibited are necessary to be expressed also.* All the degrees prohibited, in my judgment, may be best expressed in these general words: that no man may marry his mother, nor mother-in-law, and so upward in *lineâ rectâ*; daughter, nor daughter-in-law, and so downward in *lineâ rectâ*; sister, nor sister-in-law; aunt, nor aunt-in-law; niece, nor niece-in-law¹.

(xxxvii.) *They dying in the grace, which by the sacrament of baptism is conferred unto them, and not by sin alter the same.* It is better speech to say, "If they die," &c. And these words come in such place immediately after Christ's words, that they seem to be Christ's own words, which they

^k [Where the number of the Annotation is thus printed, the expression criticised is not to be found in the Bodleian copy of Hen. VIII.'s *Corrections*.]

¹ [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 270. and *Letter to Crumwell*, 7 Sept. [1536.]]

be not; therefore it were better to put them next after these words, which be in the line before, viz. "everlasting life^m."

(xxxviii.) *Only, chiefly.* These two words may not be put in this place in any wise: for they signify that our election and justification cometh partly of our merits, though chiefly it cometh of the goodness of God. But certain it is, that our election cometh only and wholly of the benefit and grace of God, for the merits of Christ's passion, and for no part of our merits and good works: as St. Paul disputeth and proveth at length in the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians, and divers other places, saying, *Si ex operibus, non ex gratia; si ex gratia, non ex operibus.*

(xxxix.) *To the intent that they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.* Although these words make the sentences not very perfect in English, yet they may stand: but I like it better as it is in the print.

(xl.) *And also indeed, if they be able, though they put themselves to pain.* This is well added; and yet there might be said more amply, "how painful soever it be unto them:" for there is no perfect contrition, where is not also a good will to make restitution, according to all possible powerⁿ.

(xli.) *Be made meet, apt, and assured, to receive the virtue of Christ's passion.* The penitent person, as soon as he repenteth from the bottom of his heart, for Christ's sake only, he is made partaker of Christ's passion, and good works follow thereof; but they be not the cause thereof. And if we should esteem our works so highly, we should glory against Christ.

(alii.) *We living as we ought to do.* Who liveth as he ought to do? Who ever kept so his journey that he never fell? And the penitent knowledgeth that he hath lived otherwise than he ought to do. And the words next immediately following declare the same, sc. "that we shall attain "remission of our sins," &c. He that hath sinned hath lived otherwise than he ought to do. And ten or twelve lines

^m [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 254.]

ⁿ [Ibid. p. 260.]

together need good interpretation; for they seem to attribute unto the words of consecration all things whatsoever we have of Christ, and ought to attribute unto him, or to any of God's words contained in the holy Scripture.

(xliii.) *To consecrate sacraments.* Consecration is called only of the sacrament of the altar: therefore it is more plain to say thus: "To consecrate the body of Christ, and to "minister the sacraments^o."

(xliv.) *As heretofore be rehearsed.* It appeareth to me to be in vain, after a particular recitation, to add this general, "and such other," and then to restrain the general only to the particulars before expressed. For what availeth it to say "such other," when it is meant of none other than before is expressed?

(xlv.) *And the head thereby fully pleased.* I can perceive no good cause why these words should be put in this place, for they come in very strangely.

(xlvi.) *That then they minister the same.* The commandment requireth first, that the sick man should call for the priests, and that they being called, should pray over him. And the promise made of the prayer in time of anointing is stricken out, which chiefly ought to be known^p.

(xlvii.) *Also to the attaining of the said grace.* The said grace mentioned of before, and the virtue of the prayer also whereby the same grace is given, be both stricken out.

(xlviii.) *Of matrimony, of baptism, and of penance.* The causes there assigned may not be well applied to matrimony: That it should be, as the other were, by the manifest institution of Christ. Or, that it is of necessity to salvation. Or, that thereby we should have the forgiveness of sins, renovation of life, and justification, &c.^q

(xlix.) *But me Jesus Christ.* It is not the use of Scripture to attribute to one person of the Trinity peculiarly, that thing which doth express the three persons in one Deity. And we must not repute for God only Jesus

^o [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 278.]

^p [Ibid. p. 290.]

^q [Ibid. p. 293.]

Christ, but also the Father, and the Holy Ghost. And here be set forth the Ten Commandments, as they were written by God in the two tables. And it seemeth better to read these Commandments, taken out of the Scripture, even as they be there written, without any addition, than that we should alter the words of Scripture, and specially of God's own Commandments[†].

(i.) *Or honour them as God or Gods.* We may not thus add to the words of Scripture, but set them out first plainly and surely, even as they be, and after expound and declare them[‡].

(ii.) *Wrongfully or unjustly.* To this I say as to the next before[†].

(iii.) *They that by superstition repute.* Whereas the same is stricken out, it seemeth more necessary to remain, forso-much as the common people do in nothing more superstitiously. Likewise of astrology, and specially physiognomy[‡].

(iiii.) *And not be honoured as God.* All the long sentence before, whereunto these words be added, is the very words of God in Deuteronomy, which would be recited sincerely without any addition. And the images ought to have no manner of honour, neither such honour as is due unto God, nor such as is due unto his reasonable creatures. And the same words "as God" be added in another place in the same side of the leaf, and not well, as I surely think.

(liv.) *Which thing nevertheless, if the common people.* I marvel why these words should be stricken out, seeing that it is contrary to the Scripture to have any such images of the Father of heaven, as St. Austin saith, and they be suffered only for the infirmity of the people, as we have declared. St. Austin saith, in his book *De Fide et Symbolo*, cap. 7. "Tale simulachrum Deo nefas est Christiano in "templo collocare." And likewise he and many of the most ancient authors do say in many other places[‡].

(lv.) *Priests and bishops.* If these words be added, then

[†] [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 295.]

[‡] [Ibid.]

[‡] [Ibid.]

[‡] [Ibid. p. 298.]

[‡] [Ibid. p. 299.]

this sentence joineth not well with the sentence following. And if any man be offended with this word "preach," then if it be put out, and this word "teach" put in the stead thereof after this sort, "and we must also teach," then do both the sentences run in a good composition together, so that no man can be offended¹.

(lvi.) *And toucheth not their prince.* Methinketh this clause need not to be added, or rather, that it is not true; for a latter oath may be made touching the prince, contrary to the former lawful oath, and yet good: as when the first by the king's laws continueth no longer in his strength².

(¹lvi*.) *Words belonging to the consecration.* We say not "the words of the consecration" of any of the sacraments, saving only of the sacrament of the altar.

(lvii.) *The right understanding.* In the book it is evident that it was reasoned, whether it were necessary to alter the common speech which is used, and seemeth not to agree with the truth of God's word, as it is there confessed it doth not, except it be better understand than it appeareth to sound. And that it is meant of the alteration of the speech, the words following do show; sc. "that is used, nor is there "any error therein, so that the sentence and meaning thereof "be well and truly understand:" now these words "therein "and thereof" cannot be referred to that is added, for then the sentence were thus: "There is no error in the right understanding and meaning, &c. so that the sentence of the "right understanding and meaning be well understood."

(lviii.) *Such as they have charge of.* The words of the print import no more, but that those which can read may be well occupied to read good works to other which cannot read; and then if these words should be added, "such as "they have charge of," it might seem that no man were well occupied to read good works, but the father to the children, the master to his servants, the parson to his own parishioners, and such like. But I think surely, that he

¹ [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 303.]

² [Ibid. p. 304.]

³ [Two Annotations are numbered (lvi.) in the original manuscript. Though probably a mistake, it has been retained to avoid confusion in reference.]

that can read may be well occupied, if he read some part of Scripture unto all them which cannot read; not as taking the office of a priest or bishop upon him, except he be called thereunto, but of charity moved, as he shall see necessity, time, and opportunity. Whereof St. Paul saith, *Verbum Christi habitet in vobis abundanter in omni sapientia, docete et monete vos in vicem^b*.

(lix.) *So that we neglect not mass and even-song.* As well there might be added, "matins." And so it signifieth, that whatsoever necessity happeneth upon the holyday, we must so apply ourselves to such urgent business, that mass, matins, and even-song, may not be omitted, and yet matins, and even-song be wholly of man's tradition and ordinance, and mass also almost altogether, as it is now used; and these things were not understood in this commandment, which were made and ordained sithence the commandments were given. And the law in his most rigour doth permit otherwise, namely, to the husbandman, cooks, bakers, mariners, fishers, and such other, which, laying aside all such service, must take the time as it cometh^c.

(lx.) *Also the spiritual father, by whom.* Methinketh this might well remain, that the preachers of God's word might be the better esteemed and had in reputation: neither should it be so done without example of good authority to be followed, seeing that St. Paul looked so to be reputed of the Corinthians, yea and rebuked them as unkind children, in that they had more regard of other which were but their schoolmasters, than of him which was their father, that is, did first beget them unto Christ by preaching the word of God unto them: as he saith, 1 Cor. iv. *Si decem millia paedagogorum habeatis in Christo, at non multos patres. Nam in Christo Jesu per evangelium ego vos genui.* And now also they that preaching the word of God do teach us in our youth the principles of our faith, seem to supply the same room, and may be right well called our spiritual fathers^d.

^b [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 308.]

^c [Ibid. p. 309.]

^d [Cranmer's attempt to preserve the paragraph failed. *Nec. Doctr.* p. 311.]

(lxi.) *If any man have a stubborn, &c.* Of all the precepts there rehearsed, none ought rather to stand than this, for none of them doth express so largely the form of the punishment of an inobedient child, and for what offences against the father he should in such wise be punished, than this doth which is stricken out^c.

(lxii.) *A certain reverence and credit unto, &c.* It seemeth that St. Paul required as much obsequy as was to be showed to the natural father, in the place above mentioned, and rather it may seem to reason, that more should be showed; for so much as the regeneration, which is towards God and to everlasting life, far passeth the first generation, which is to a damnable state and endless punishment^f.

(lxiii.) *To provide and care for them.* It may right well appear that St. Paul affirmeth this point, specially to be required in all such as have governance over other, in these words that he saith, Rom. xii. *Qui præest, in solitudine præsit*.

(lxiv.) *Inferior rulers.* Princes must also do all things with justice, which otherwise cannot be known, than by their laws and ordinances institute for the ministration thereof: and when princes give pardons, placards, protections, and licenses, contrary to the common order of their laws, yet that also is done by the law, so that it be never done against justice and equity between party and party. And moreover it is not amply spoken that the inferior rulers should do nothing, but by the order of their laws: for the laws be not theirs, but the princes, instead of whom they do minister the same justice, that he would do himself by the common order of his laws, if it should happen him to take the judgment thereof in his own hands^h.

(lxv.) *And wanton words.* I think that wanton tales, unclean songs, and lascivious apparel, need to be spoken of as much as any thing else, being so much used as it is, contrary to God's word: which commandeth us in this

^c [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 312.]

^f [Ibid. p. 318.]

^g [Cranmer preserved the substance of this clause. *Nec. Doctr.* p. 315.]

^h [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 322.]

wise, *Let not filthy communication come from your mouth.* Ephes. iv. And as touching the prohibition of lascivious apparel, namely, of women, it appeareth, 1 Tim. ii. and 1 Pet. iii.¹

(lxvi.) *In procuring of the same.* The whole sentence shall yet be more perfect, if it be said "in maintenance of the "same," for they that be only consenters to such evil be not also procurers, albeit they be maintainers.

(lxvii.) *As surfeiting, sloth.* It seemeth much better expressed before, because the chief and special causes of unchaste living were rehearsed more at large.

(lxviii.) *If thereby they be provoked.* Whether they be or not provoked, they that wittingly doth accompany with such, although they keep themselves chaste, yet for so much as they seem to be fautors of them, they be guilty of the transgression of this commandment: for that is, even as St. Paul saith, to communicate with the unfruitful works of darkness, and not to reprove them. Ephes. v. To the avoiding whereof, he would us so much to eschew the company of them that be evil, that we should neither eat nor drink with them, 1 Cor. v.

(lix.) *Without due recompense.* This addition agreeth not well with the coveting of another man's wife; wherein is no recompensation, and in the other things, although recompensation be made, yet the commandment nevertheless is transgressed and broken^k.

(lxx.) *Here follow certain notes.* All the notes^l after the commandments be clean put out, which be very good, and contain many things necessary and expedient to be known: as, the threatenings of God to the transgressors, and the promises to the observers of the same: a most brief and short content of every commandment: a declaration of the love of God and of our neighbour, what it is,

¹ [In this and the three following objections Cranmer succeeded. *Nec. Doctr.* p. 326.]

^k [This addition was struck out according to Cranmer's wish. *Nec. Doctr.* p. 333.]

^l [Notwithstanding Cranmer's remonstrance, these notes were all omitted in *The Necessary Doctrine.*]

and how therein all the Ten Commandments be comprised: the causes why the Ten Commandments be necessary to be known: and the transition from the Commandments unto the Pater Noster. And none of these things, meseemeth, were good to be left out.

(lxxi.) *Suffer not us to be led.* Christ taught us thus to pray, "Lead us not into temptation." And we should not alter any word in the Scripture, which wholly is ministered unto us by the Ghost of God, 2 Pet. i.: although it shall appear to us in many places to signify much absurdity: but first, the Scripture must be set out in God's own words, and if there be any ambiguity, absurdity, or scruple, after it would be declared, according to the true sense thereof^m.

(lxxii.) *Touching the soul.* Christ testifieth that all that be elect shall of God be equally and indifferently regarded of him in every condition, concerning not only the soul but also the body. So that, considering the state whereunto he hath called them, he provideth meat, drink, and clothing for them, Matt. vi. Yea, and that every hair of their head is in reputation under God, and in his preservation, Matt. x. Luke xii. And although he provide more abundantly for the lords and rich men, than he doth for the subjects and poor folks, yet he no more accepteth and regardeth the rich with their riches, than he doth the poor with their poverty: but every man, as his heart is joined and affied to God, so he is accepted and regarded of God, whether he be rich or poor, free or bond.

(lxxiii.) *To our desert.* ⁿVerily, although we ever deserve as much punishment as is laid upon us, and much more, yet no part of that is afflict unto us by the will of God; yea, and as touching [us,] which are so taken into his favour that through Christ we be made his children; though it seem never so grievous, it is done of his most beneficial and fatherly good-will, that he beareth towards us, which chasteth, as St. Paul saith, all those that he loveth.

^m [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 178.]

ⁿ [Ibid. p. 341.]

So that of right faith we should believe, that all punishments, tribulations, and persecution, be of the sending of God; notwithstanding that to our judgment they shall seem many times and often to come only of the Devil, or the wickedness of his ministers.

As when to the holy man Job, the example of all patience, so many mischances happened together;—the Sabies stole his oxen and asses; the fire, coming from above, brent up his sheep; the Chaldees drove away his camels; the hurtling wind overthrew his son's house, wherewith all his children were slain—who would not have thought, but that all this had come only of the Devil, and of thieves and robbers, and that he had been so far out of God's favour, that the Devil had then his full power over him? But he, being constant in the faith of God, and knowing certainly that for all this God did bear his favour towards him, wist that all this came from him, and that the Devil had no power to do any such things, saving that God would even the same. He said not, The Devil owed me shame; or, These wicked thieves have wrought me this woe; but referred all to God, and did acknowledge that it was wrought all at his pleasure. Whose ensample all we that be the faithful people should follow, as Austin testifieth, saying, “Cuicumque aliquid accidit, dicat, *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit*. “Non enim dixit Job, Dominus dedit, Diabolus abstulit. “Intendat ergo charitas vestra ne forte dicatis, Hæc mihi Diabolus fecit: prorsus ad Deum flagellum tuum refer, “quia nec Diabolus aliquid fecit, nisi ille permittat qui desuper habet potestatem ad pœnam vel ad disciplinam.” *In Psalm. xxxi. and xxxii.*

Likewise when Samei did curse king David, and said, *Come forth, thou bloodsupper, Baal's man, usurper of another man's kingdom. God hath acquitted thee, and given thy kingdom to Absalom thy son; behold thou art wrapt in mischief, as thou wast desirous of blood-shedding.* Who would have thought other, but that this malediction had come to so blessed a prince even from the Devil? But this chosen person of God, King David, knowing and believing

that God had not withdrawn his favour from him, wist it was much otherwise; and said unto Abisai, who for this railing and cursing of the King would have cut off Samei's head, *Suffer him to curse, for the Lord hath commanded him to curse*; and after it followeth, *Suffer him to curse, according to the precept of the Lord. It may hap, that God would thus look upon mine affliction, and give me goodness for the cursing this day.* In this it is evident that David denied [not] this grievous temptation to come of God, at his will and commandment, all for the best, and to the provocation of the greater favour of God, in case for his sake which sent it he could suffer it patiently. He ascribeth this to the will of God and to his power, without whom Pilate could not have given sentence of condemnation against Christ, as the gospel testifieth.

We then should evermore, when any adversity cometh, knowledge therein God's power, and think it is also of his sending, as Austin in divers places giveth us counsel, saying, "*Quicquid acciderit justo, voluntati divinæ deputat, non potestati inimici. Sævire iste potest ut feriat; ferire autem, si ille noluerit, non potest.*" *In Ps. xxxvi.* and again he saith, "*Quantum Diabolus accipit potestatis, tantum ego patior; non ergo ab illo patior, sed ab eo qui potestatem dedit.*" *In Ps. ciii.*

(lxxiv.) *As only of ourself.* It need not to be added, for it followeth by and by after, "Without a special grace and a singular inspiration of God;" which is all one with this, "As only of ourself." And if these words be added to signify that by the common influence of grace given generally, we have inclination to obey the will and precepts of God; so much the Pelagians will grant unto us. And then also it will not agree with that followeth, that without a special grace and singular inspiration, we cannot love God nor man, but in respect to ourselves. And moreover when [we] have received the special grace and singular inspiration of God, and even the Holy Ghost himself, yet our own carnal inclination is still unto evil, as St. Paul saith, *Caro pugnat adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus*

carnem. Et, Condelector lege Dei secundum interiorem hominem, habeo autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meæ, et captivantem me in lege peccati, quæ est in membris meis^o.

(lxxv.) *Wife and family.* These words make the sentence very obscure, and no perfect English, and they be put of no necessity, for they be contained sufficiently in the words following immediately; viz. "Necessary for their vocation and degree:" which no man, I think, will take otherwise than such a portion, as is enough, not only for himself, but also for his wife and family and other which appertain to his charge and provision.

(lxxvi.) *And teach us the ways justly and truly to live.* We may not add in such wise to the Scripture, as no man that can read it can judge other, but that it is some part of the promise made there by Christ. For besides that the text will give it, also it followeth immediately: "These be the words of Christ." Now we may not so boldly make promises of God's behalf. Si enim verum sit illud Pauli, *Hominis testamentum, ubi semel probatum sit, nemo rejicit, aut addit ei aliquid*, quanto magis testimoniis et testamento Dei altissimi nihil est addendum vel detrahendum^p.

(lxxvii.) *Also here is a thing greatly to be noted.* This is a good saying, but it seemeth not spoken in his place, for in the words of Christ, whereof is here spoken, is no mention made of the true labouring man, or that he should be certain of his salvation^q.

(lxxviii.) *Daily.* The Scripture would, that those that be the blessed sort of God, should at all times and at all hours call to remembrance the comfortable words of God. *Ut meditetur*, as David saith, *in lege Domini die ac nocte*. Like as God also requireth by manifest commandment, whereas Moses in his behalf said these words, *That now here I command thee, print them in thy heart, tell them to thy children, muse of them sitting in thy house, walk-*

^o [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 340.]

^p [Ibid. p. 344.]

^q [This "good saying" kept its place, *Nec. Doctr.* p. 344.]

ing in thy journey, lying down and uprising: clasp them in thy hand for a memorial, make them to stir before thine eyes, and write them in the posts and doors of thy house. Deut. vi. This commandment of God requireth that at all times and in all places we should be mindful of his words, yea, daily and hourly^r.

(lxxix.) *Ought to forgive.* Christ taught us not here in this petition to pray unto our Father, that he should forgive us, as we *ought* to forgive other: meaning thereby, that unless we forgive other in *deed*, our prayer is frustrate and made in vain. And to certify us, that he meant so thereby, immediately after the *Pater Noster*, to leave us out of all doubt what he meant by this petition, he saith, *Si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, Pater vester cœlestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra. Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, nec Pater vester dimittet vobis peccata vestra*^t.

(lxxx.) *Why do we boast us to be Christian men?* Why these words should be stricken out I cannot tell, seeing that St. Paul, as concerning our imitation of Christ, even in the same point, speaketh the same words in effect; saying, *Forgive you one another if any of you have a grief against another; as the Lord hath forgiven you, even so do you*, Col. iii. And as touching that reason that followeth, which is also stricken out, that is, that we may not think to have forgiveness of God, if we should show extremity to our neighbour, the Scripture testifieth that to look for that, it were unreasonable; saying, *Qui vindicari vult, a Domino inveniet vindictam, et peccata illius servans servabit. Dimitte proximo tuo nocenti te, et tunc deprecanti tibi peccata*

^r ["Daily" was omitted in spite of Cranmer. *Nec. Doctr.* p. 345.]

^t [By the alterations which Henry VIII. here proposed, it would seem that he shared the feelings of the persons described by Latymer, "who, when they said this petition, perceived that they asked of God forgiveness, like as they themselves forgive their neighbours; and again perceiving themselves so unapt to forgive their neighbours' faults, came to that point, that they would not say this prayer at all; but took our lady's psalter in hand and such fooleries, thinking they might then do unto their neighbour a foul turn with a better conscience, than if they should say this petition." Latymer, *Sixth Sermon on the Lord's Prayer.*]

^t [See *Nec. Doctr.* p. 346. 347.]

solventur. Homo homini reservat iram, et a Deo quærit medelam? In hominem similem sibi non habet misericordiam, et de peccatis suis deprecatur? Ipse, dum caro sit, reservat iram, et propitiationem petit a Deo? Quis orabit pro delictis illius? Prov. [Ecclus?] xxviii.

(lxxxi.) **And in case that he which hath committed the offence, &c.* This remission that is required by Christ, nothing toucheth debts that ought to be paid, nor yet goods and lands unjustly withholden, that ought to be restored; but the displeasure and malice of the heart of him that injury is done unto, and an appetite to be revenged of such displeasures as be done unto him. For he that suffereth injury should be sorry in his heart, that his brother should use himself contrary to the laws and ordinances of God or of his prince; he should pray for his amendment, and not of his private power render evil for evil, nor take the sword to avenge his own quarrel; but commit the whole punishment of the trespass unto God and to his ministers, whom he hath ordained for that intent.

So doth the Scripture command us, saying, *Say thou not, I will acquit this evil, but tarry the Lord, and he shall help thee.* Prov. xx. Likewise St. Paul saith, *Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves one of another, but give place unto displeasure: for it is written, Leave the revenging unto me, and I will acquit it, saith the Lord.* Rom. xii. Where God biddeth us to reserve the vengeance unto him, it is not meant that the superior powers and their ministers should not meddle therewith, but that we should preserve our hearts clear from all vengeable appetites, and that we should not enterprise any part of God's office and judgment; but commit it unto them which be God's ministers in that behalf, as the prince is, and they that be substitute of him. For as St. Paul saith, *Dei minister est ultor ad iram.* Rom. xiii. So that referring it to them, we refer it even to the judgment of God, which they by his

^u [See *Nec. Doc.* p. 348.]

^{*} [Though this clause is not found in the *Corrections*, it appears in *The Necessary Doctrine*, p. 349.]

authority do exercise to us. As Josophat, giving commandment to the judges, said, *Videte quid facitis; non enim hominis exercetis judicium, sed Domini.* 2 Chron. xix.

Now these things well considered, these two may stand both well together; that we, as private persons, may forgive all such as have trespassed against us, with all our heart; and yet that the public ministers of God may see a redress of the same trespasses that we have forgiven. For my forgiveness concerneth only mine own person, but I cannot forgive the punishment and correction that by God's ordinance is to be ministered by the superior powers; for insomuch as the same trespass which I do forgive, may be to the maintenance of vice, not only of the offender, but also of other taking evil example thereby, it lieth not in me to forgive the same. For so should I enterprise in the office of others, which by the ordinance of God be deputed to the same. Yea, and that such justice may be ministered to the abolishment of vice and sin, I may, yea and rather as the cause shall require, I am bound to make relation to the superior powers of the enormities and trespasses done to me and other; and being sorry that I should have cause so to do, seek upon the reformation of such evil doers, not as desirous of vengeance, but of the amendment of their life. And yet I may not the more cruelly persecute the matter, because the offence is peradventure done towards me, but I ought to handle it as if it were done to any other only, for the zeal of the extirpation of sin, the maintenance of justice and quietness, which may right well stand with the ferventness of charity, as Scripture testifieth, *Non oderis fratrem tuum in corde tuo, sed publice argue eum, ne habeas super illo peccatum.* Levit. xix.

That this may stand with charity, and also the forgiveness that Christ requires of every one of us, for and yet in this doing I must forgive him with all my heart; forasmuch as lieth in me, I must be sorry that sin should have so much ruled in him; I must pray to God to give him repentance for his misdeeds; I must desire God, that for

Christ's sake he will not impute the sin unto him, being truly repentant, and so to strengthen him in grace, that he fall not again so dangerously. I think I were no true Christian man, if I would not thus do. And what other thing is this, than forasmuch as lieth in me, with all my heart to remit the trespass? But I may by the laws require all that is due unto me by right. And as for the punishment and correction, it is not my part to enterprise therein: but that only belongeth to the superior powers, to whom, if the grievousness of the cause shall require by God's commandment which willeth us to take away the evil from amongst us, we ought to show the offences and complain thereof. For he would not that we should take away the evil but after a just and lawful mean, which is only by the ordinance of God to show the same to the superior powers, that they may take an order in it according to God's judgment and justice.

In this matter I have written much more than needeth, and nothing disallowing the three leaves added to the printed book, for I like them very well; saving that the first side is not perfect English nor much material, and therefore I think it were good to leave out the beginning of the first side, and to begin at the last end thereof, at this particle, "It is expedient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct" &c. And where the fourth note is stricken out, I think it might well remain, for it is very good, and not repugnant to any thing written in the three leaves: and the three leaves would very conveniently and aptly follow the fourth note^y.

(lxxxii.) *Though our doings be never so good and consonant to equity.* He that is justified knowledgeth humbly

^y [The fourth note was struck out notwithstanding Cranmer's representations. P. 348, 349, of *The Necessary Doctrine* probably contain what was written on the three leaves here spoken of. Perhaps the paragraph from "And finally—to—neighbour" may be that which Cranmer thought not "much material." The remainder agrees perfectly with his Annotation, but is more concisely expressed. In the 349th page occur the very words "And in case," &c. with which he commences his remarks.]

his offences and sins, saying, as the publican did, *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori*. And as David also said, *Lava me ab iniquitate mea, quia malum coram te feci*, et, *Iniquitates meæ supergressæ sunt caput meum*. And he confesseth that before his justification his doings were naught, nor consonant unto equity; and therefore this parenthesis cometh not well in this place.

(lxxxiii.) *For the first offence of our father Adam.* No man shall be damned for the offences of Adam, but for his own proper offences, either actual or original; which original sin every man hath of his own, and is born in it, although it come from Adam.

(lxxxiv.) *The principal mean whereby all sinners attain this justification.* This sentence importeth that the favour and love of the Father of heaven towards us, is the mean whereby we come to his favour and love, and so should one thing be a mean to itself. And it is not the use of Scripture to call any other the mean or mediator for us, but only Jesus Christ, by whom our access is to the Father, so that it is a strange thing to attribute unto the Father this word "mean," but his love was the original and beginning of our salvation.

(lxxxv.) *And then to be contrite.* It were better to say "and to be contrite," putting out "then."

(lxxxvi.) *Having assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy, willing to enter into the perfect faith.* He that hath assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy, hath already entered into a perfect faith, and not only hath a will to enter into it. For perfect faith is nothing else but assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy; and after it followeth, that he shall enter into perfect faith by undoubted trust in God, in his words and promise, which also be both one thing: for these three be all one, "perfect faith,"—"assured hope and confidence in Christ's mercy,"—and "undoubted trust in God, in his words and promises."

And, for a further declaration, to know how we obtain our justification, it is expedient to consider, first, how naughty and sinful we are all, that be of Adam's kindred;

and contrariwise, what mercifulness is in God, which to all faithful and penitent sinners pardoneth all their offences for Christ's sake. Of these two things no man is lightly ignorant that ever hath heard of the fall of Adam, which was to the infection of all his posterity; and again, of the inexplicable mercy of our heavenly Father, which sent his only begotten Son to suffer his most grievous passion for us, and shed his most precious blood, the price of our redemption. But it is greatly to be wished and desired, that as all Christian men do know the same, so that every man might know-ledge and undoubtedly believe the same to be true and verified, even upon himself; so that both he may humble himself to God and knowledge himself a miserable sinner not worthy to be called his son; and yet surely trust, that to him being repentant God's mercy is ready to forgive. And he that seeth not these two things verified in himself, can take no manner of emolument and profit by knowing and believing these things to be verified in others. But we cannot satisfy our minds [and] settle our conscience that these things are true, saving that we do evidently see that God's word so teacheth us.

The commandments of God lay our faults before our eyes, which putteth us in fear and dread, and maketh us see the wrath of God against our sins, as St. Paul saith, *Per legem agnitio peccati*, et, *Lex iram operatur*, and maketh us sorry and repentant, that ever we should come into the displeasure of God, and the captivity of the Devil. The gracious and benign promises of God by the mediation of Christ sheweth us, (and that to our great relief and comfort,) whensoever we be repentant, and return fully to God in our hearts, that we have forgiveness of our sins, be reconciled to God, and accepted, and reputed just and righteous in his sight, only by his grace and mercy, which he doth grant and give unto us for his dearly beloved Son's sake, Jesus Christ; who paid a sufficient ransom for our sins; whose blood doth wash away the same; whose bitter and grievous passion is the only pacifying oblation, that putteth away from us the wrath of God his Father; whose

sanctified body offered on the cross is the only sacrifice of sweet and pleasant savour, as St. Paul saith: that is to say, of such sweetness and pleasantness to the Father, that for the same he accepteth and reputeth of like sweetness all them that the same offering doth serve for.

These benefits of God with innumerable other, whosoever expendeth, and well pondereth in his heart, and thereby conceiveth a firm trust and feeling of God's mercy, whereof springeth in his heart a warm love and fervent heat of zeal towards God, it is not possible but that he shall fall to work, and be ready to the performance of all such works as he knoweth to be acceptable unto God. And these works only which follow our justification, do please God; for so much as they proceed from an heart endued with pure faith and love to God. But the works which we do before our justification, be not allowed and accepted before God, although they appear never so good and glorious in the sight of man. For after our justification only begin we to work as the law of God requireth. Then we shall do all good works willingly, although not so exactly as the law requireth by mean of infirmity of the flesh. Nevertheless, by the merit and benefit of Christ, we being sorry that we cannot do all things no more exquisitely and duly, all our works shall be accepted and taken of God, as most exquisite, pure, and perfect.

Now they that think they may come to justification by performance of the law, by their own deeds and merits, or by any other mean than is above rehearsed, they go from Christ, they renounce his grace: *Evacuati estis a Christo*, saith St. Paul, Gal. v., *quicumque in lege justificamini, a gratia excidistis*. They be not partakers of the justice, that he hath procured, or the merciful benefits that be given by him. For St. Paul saith a general rule for all them that will seek such by-paths to obtain justification; those, saith he, which will not knowledge the justness or righteousness which cometh by God, but go about to advance their own righteousness, shall never come to that righteousness which we have by God; which is the righteousness of Christ: by

whom only all the saints in heaven, and all other that have been saved, have been reputed righteous, and justified. So that to Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer, on whose righteousness both their and our justification doth depend, is to be transcribed all the glory thereof.

[The perusal of these *Annotations* naturally excites a curiosity to know how far they were attended to in the new edition of *The Institution* published in 1543, under the title of *A Necessary Doctrine* &c. particularly on those points on which they are decidedly at variance with the King's *Corrections*. This curiosity cannot always be gratified, as some of the articles are so completely remodelled in the *Necessary Doctrine*, that all trace both of Henry VIII.'s remarks and of Cranmer's is lost. But in many instances, the precise expressions proposed by the King are adopted in the new formulary, and in others again they seem to have been rejected in consequence of the Archbishop's representations. The following are some of the principal cases in which either Henry VIII.'s *Corrections* or Cranmer's *Annotations* seem to have been followed in the composition of the *Necessary Doctrine*. Any one may either verify them, or pursue the inquiry farther, by making use of the references to that formulary which are inserted above.

Cranmer's new translation of the Creed is adopted with some slight alterations.

His long Annotation on Faith seems to have given rise to the introductory *Declaration* on that subject prefixed to the *Necessary Doctrine*, and to a certain extent to have been its groundwork.

Neither Henry VIII.'s additions asserting men's liability to fall from grace, nor Cranmer's Annotations (N^o xxiv. and xxv.) objecting to them, are adopted. But there is an article almost entirely new, giving a different definition of the church, and maintaining that there are many of its members "that fall and never rise again." *Nec. Doctr.* p. 224.

Henry VIII.'s long Correction, p. 34, is inserted, and the conditional clauses are retained in spite of Cranmer's Annotations, xxx. and xxxi.

Henry VIII.'s additions to the Commandments are struck out in compliance with Cranmer's Annotations, xlix. l. li.

The denunciation of belief in unlucky days, astrology, and physiognomy, is omitted according to Henry VIII.'s Correction, and against Cranmer's Annotation lii.

A passage against images of God the Father is struck out at Henry VIII.'s desire, and in spite of Cranmer's remonstrance, Annotation liv.

Cranmer's Annotation lviii. did not succeed in procuring the erasure of Henry VIII.'s limitation of the advice to read the Scriptures.

The passage against stubborn children, p. 54, seems to have been preserved by Cranmer's Annotation lxi.

In the clause prohibiting princes from acting contrary to law, Henry VIII. proposed to substitute "inferior rulers" for "princes." Cranmer objected, Annotation lxiv, and the word "princes" is retained. But "ordinances" is added after "laws," which perhaps the king might interpret to mean proclamations &c. issued by the royal authority, without the consent of Parliament.

In the Lord's Prayer Henry VIII. proposed, "Suffer not us to be led into temptation." Cranmer, Annotation lxxi. objected to altering

Scripture; but the reading adopted is, "Let us not be led," &c. p. 178.

Henry VIII.'s addition "as only of ourselves," though objected to by Cranmer, Annotation lxxiv. is rather strengthened in the *Necessary Doctrine*, where the expression is, "as of our own nature only without the grace of God."

The passage respecting forgiveness of injuries is much altered, but Cranmer succeeded in procuring it to be drawn up so as to leave no door open for escaping from the duty: as appears to have been Henry VIII.'s wish from his expression inserted p. 61. and exposed by Cranmer, Annotation lxxix. A strong sentence however on the subject is omitted according to the King's desire.]

[^a*Seventeen Questions concerning the Sacraments, and the appointment and power of Bishops and Priests.*]

Stillington
MSS.
Lamb.
Libr.
1108. f. 69.
Cott. Libr.
Cleop.
E. v. f. 53.
Burn. Ref.
App. vol. i.
b. iii.
N^o. 21.

1. What a sacrament is by the Scripture?
2. What a sacrament is by the ancient authors?
3. How many sacraments there be by the Scriptures?
4. How many sacraments there be by the ancient authors?
5. Whether this word sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the seven only? And whether the seven sacraments be found in any of the old authors, or not?
6. Whether the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old authors, and so to be taught?
7. What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no? and in what wise spoken of?
8. Whether Confirmation, *cum chrismate*, of them that be baptized, be found in Scripture?
9. Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?

^a [These Questions with Answers to them by Cranmer and other divines, are preserved in the Lambeth Library and the British Museum. No answers besides Cranmer's claim a place here, but the whole are printed by Burnet and Collier. Their date is fixed by Thirlby's being called "Elect of Westminster," a title which was applicable to him only between 17th of Sept. and the 29th of Dec. 1540. The questions are believed to have been proposed to commissioners appointed in that year to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine. Mr. Todd, following an anonymous writer in the British Critic, attributes them to the pen of Henry VIII.; but Strype's opinion that they were prepared by Cranmer is confirmed by the fact, that draughts of some of them are still extant in the Archbishop's hand-writing in the Lambeth MS. 1108. fol. 1. See Burnet, *Reform.* vol. i. p. 578. *App.* vol. i. b. iii. N^o. 21. vol. iii. p. 295. *App.* vol. iii. b. iii. N^o. 69, 70, 71. Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. *App.* N^o. 49; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 77, and *App.* N^o. 27 and 28; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 308.]

10. Whether bishops or priests were first? And if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop.

11. Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest?

12. Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

13. Whether (if it fortune a prince Christian learned to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him) it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute priests, or no?

14. Whether it be forfended by God's law, that (if it so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, the sacrament of Baptism and others unministered,) that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?

15. Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture, "*Quorum remisistis*" and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest if he may have him, or no?

16. Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's law?

17. Whether unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient author?

[*Answers to the foregoing Questions.*]

1. The Scripture sheweth not what a sacrament is; nevertheless where in the Latin text we have *sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *mysterium*; and so by the Scripture, *sacramentum* may be called *mysterium*, *id est*, *res occulta sive arcana*.

2. The ancient authors call a sacrament, *sacræ rei signum*, or *visibile verbum*, *symbolum*, *atque pactio qua sumus constricti*.

3. The Scripture sheweth not how many sacraments there be, but *incarnatio Christi* and *matrimonium* be called in the Scripture *mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *sacramenta*. But one *sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is, *mysterium iniquitatis*, or *mysterium meretricis magnæ et bestię*.

4. By the ancient authors there be many sacraments more than seven, for all the figures which signified Christ to come, or testify that he is come, be called sacraments, as all the figures of the old law, and in the new law, *eucharistia*, *baptismus*, *pascha*, *dies Dominicus*, *lotio pedum*, *signum crucis*, *chrisma*, *matrimonium*, *ordo*, *sabbatum*, *impositio manuum*, *oleum*, *consecratio olei*, *lac*, *mel*, *aqua*, *vinum*, *sal*, *ignis*, *cineres*, *adapertio aurium*, *vestis candida*, and all the parables of Christ, with the prophecies of the Apocalypse, and such other, be called by the doctors *sacramenta*.

5. I know no cause why this word sacrament should be attributed to the seven only; for the old authors never prescribe any certain number of sacraments, nor in all their books I never read these two words joined together, viz. *septem sacramenta*.

6. The determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old authors.

7. I find not in the Scripture, the matter, nature, and effect of all those which we call the seven sacraments, but only of certain of them; as of Baptism, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the blood of Christ: of *Eucharistia*, in which we be concorporated unto Christ, and made lively members of his body, nourished and fed to the everlasting life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather death than life.

Of Penance also I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto God's favour and mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of Penance, as we call it a sacrament, consisting in three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh Penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in

heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him.

Of Matrimony also I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our concupiscence to the setting forth of his glory, and increase of the world, thereby sanctifying the act of carnal commixtion between the man and the wife to that use; yea, although one party be an infidel; and in this Matrimony is also a promise of salvation, if the parents bring up their children in the faith, love, and fear of God.

Of the matter, nature, and effect of the other three, that is to say, Confirmation, Order, and Extreme Unction, I read nothing in the Scripture, as they be taken for sacraments.

8. Of Confirmation with chrism, without which it is counted no sacrament, there is no manner of mention in the Scripture.

9. All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance: and in both these ministrations, they must have sundry ministers under them to supply that which is appointed to their several offices.

The civil ministers under the King's Majesty in this realm of England, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the time to put in authority under him: as for example; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Great Master, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Mayors, Sheriffs, &c.

The ministers of God's word, under his Majesty, be the bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his Highness to that ministration: as for example, the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Winchester, the Parson of Winwick, &c. All the said officers and ministers, as well of the one sort as of the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected in every place, by the laws and orders of kings and princes.

In the admission of many of these officers be divers

comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed. And there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office.

In the apostle's time, when there was no Christian princes, by whose authority ministers of God's word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the correction of vice, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of Christian multitude among themselves, by an uniform consent, to follow the advice and persuasion of such persons whom God had most indued with the spirit of counsel and wisdom. And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword nor governor amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by other that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, such conversation and counsel, that they ought even of very conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: and so sometime the apostles and other unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed ministers of God's word; sometime the people did choose such as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or sent by the apostles or other, the people of their own voluntary will with thanks did accept them; not for the supremity, impery, or dominion, that the apostles had over them to command, as their princes and masters, but as good people, ready to obey the advice of good counsellors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

10. The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion.

11. A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so

may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election; for as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it, and the people, before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests.

12. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop, or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.

13. It is not against God's law, but contrary, they ought indeed so to do; and there be histories that witnesseth, that some Christian princes, and other laymen unconsecrate have done the same.

14. It is not forbidden by God's law.

15. A man is not bound, by the authority of this scripture, "*Quorum remisistis*," and such-like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, although he may have him.

16. A bishop or a priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate, but where the laws of any region giveth him authority to excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such crimes, as the laws have such authority in; and where the laws of the region forbiddeth them, there they have none authority at all; and they that be no priests may also excommunicate, if the law allow thereunto.

17. Unction of the sick with oil to remit venial sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient author.

T. Cantuarien. This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which nevertheless, I do not temerously define, but refer the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty ^b.

^b [This last paragraph, as well as the signature, is written by Cranmer himself, both in the Lambeth and Cotton manuscripts. Strype asserts the same of a Summary of the judgments of the other divines, which is in fol. 41 of the Cotton volume; but it seems rather to be a copy by a secretary from the original at Lambeth; and this being in a totally different hand-writing, can scarcely be attributed to the Archbishop; although probably, since it does not notice his own opinion, it was drawn up for his use. It will be found in Burnet. See Strype, *Corrections of Burnet*, p. 544.]

A Prologue or Preface made by the most reverend father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of England^c.

Cranmer's
Bible,
1540.

FOR two sundry sorts of people, it seemeth much necessary that something be said in the entry of this book, by the way of a preface or prologue: whereby hereafter, it may be both the better accepted of them which hitherto could not well bear it, and also the better used of them which heretofore have misused it. For truly some there are, that be too slow and need the spur; some other seem too quick and need more of the bridle. Some lose their game by short shooting; some by overshooting. Some walk too much on the left hand; some too much on the right. In the former sort be all they, that refuse to read or to hear read, the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, much worse they that also let, or discourage the other from the reading or hearing thereof. In the latter sort be they, which by their inordinate reading, indiscreet speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwise by their licentious living, slander and hinder the word of God most of all other, whereof they would seem to be greatest furtherers. These two sorts, albeit they be most far unlike the one to the other, yet they both deserve in effect like reproach. Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judge the more offender, him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledge, or him that so ungodly and so ungodly doth abuse the same.

And as touching the former, I would marvel much, that

^c [Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, was first printed in 1539, but this *Preface* did not accompany it before 1540. It was submitted before publication, as appears from one of the Archbishop's letters, both to the King and Cromwell. It has since not only been prefixed to many editions of the Bible, but has often been reprinted separately. See *Letter to Cromwell*, 14 Nov. [1539.] Lewis, *Hist. of English Bible*. Cotton, *List of Editions*.]

any man should be so mad, as to refuse in darkness, light ; in hunger, food ; in cold, fire. For the word of God is light : *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum.* Food : *Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei.* Fire : *Ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut ardeat.* Paal. cxix.
Matth. iv.
Luke xii.

I would marvel, I say, at this, save that I consider, how much custom and usage may do. So that if there were a people, as some write *De Cimmeriis*, which never saw the sun, by reason that they be situated far toward the North Pole, and be enclosed and overshadowed with high mountains ; it is credible and like enough, that if by the power and will of God the mountains should sink down, and give place that the light of the sun might have entrance to them, at the first some of them would be offended therewith. And the old proverb affirmeth, that after tillage of corn was first found, many delighted more to feed of mast and acorns, wherewith they had been accustomed, than to eat bread made of good corn. Such is the manner and custom, that it causeth us to bear all things well and easily wherewith we have been accustomed, and to be offended with all things thereunto contrary. And therefore I can well think them worthy pardon, which at the coming abroad of Scripture doubted and drew back. But such as will persist still in their wilfulness, I must needs judge not only foolish, froward, and obstinate, but also peevish, perverse, and indurate.

And yet, if the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm : and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxons' tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue ; whereof there remaineth yet divers copies, found lately in old abbeyes, of such antique manners of writing and speaking, that few men now been able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old and out of common usage, by cause folk

should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain, and be daily found.

But now to let pass custom, and to weigh, as wise men ever should, the thing in his own nature, let us here discuss, what it availeth Scripture to be had and read of the lay and vulgar people. And to this question I intend here to say nothing but that was spoken and written by the noble doctor and most moral divine, St. John Chrisostome, in his third sermon *De Lazaro*; albeit I will be something shorter, and gather the matter into fewer words and less room than he doth there, because I would not be tedious. He exhorteth there his audience, that every man should read by himself at home in the mean days and time between sermon and sermon, to the intent they might both more profoundly fix in their minds and memories that he had said before upon such texts, whereupon he had already preached; and also that they might have their minds the more ready and better prepared to receive and perceive that which he should say from thenceforth in his sermons, upon such texts as he had not yet declared and preached upon; therefore sayeth he there, “ My common usage is to give you warning
“ before, what matter I intend after to entreat upon, that
“ you yourselves, in the mean days, may take the book in
“ hand, read, weigh, and perceive the sum and effect of the
“ matter, and mark what hath been declared, and what remaineth yet to be declared: so that thereby your mind
“ may be the more furnished to hear the rest that shall be
“ said. And that I exhort you,” sayeth he, “ and ever have
“ and will exhort you, that you not only here in the church
“ give ear to that that is said by the preacher; but that
“ also, when ye be at home in your houses, ye apply yourselves, from time to time, to the reading of holy Scriptures. Which thing also I never lynne to beat into the ears
“ of them that been my familiars, and with whom I have
“ private acquaintance and conversation. Let no man make
“ excuse and say, sayeth he, “ ‘ I am busied about matters
“ of the commonwealth; ’ ‘ I bear this office or that; ’ ‘ I am a

“craftsman, I must apply mine occupation ;’ ‘ I have a wife,
“my children must be fed, my household must I provide for :’ briefly, ‘ I am a man of the world, it is not for
“me to read the Scriptures; that belongeth to them that
“hath bidden the world farewell, which live in solitariness
“and contemplation, and have been brought up and continually nosylled in learning and religion.’ ”

To this answering, “ What sayest thou, man ? ” sayeth he,
“ Is it not for thee to study and to read the Scripture, because thou art encumbered and distract with cures and
“ business ? So much the more it is behoveful for thee to have
“ defence of Scriptures, how much thou art the more distressed in worldly dangers. They that be free, and far
“ from trouble and intermeddling of worldly things, liveth
“ in safeguard and tranquillity and in the calm, or within a
“ sure haven. Thou art in the midst of the sea of worldly
“ wickedness, and therefore thou needest the more of ghostly
“ succour and comfort. They sit far from the strokes of
“ battle, and far out of gunshot, and therefore they be but
“ seldom wounded. Thou that standest in the forefront of
“ the host and nighest to thine enemies, must needs take
“ now and then many strokes and be grievously wounded,
“ and therefore thou hast more need to have thy remedies
“ and medicines at hand. Thy wife provoketh thee to anger ; thy child giveth thee occasion to take sorrow and pen-
“ siveness ; thine enemies lieth in wait for thee ; thy friend,
“ as thou takest him, sometime envieth thee ; thy neighbour misreporteth thee, or picketh quarrels against thee ;
“ thy mate or partner undermineth thee ; thy lord judge,
“ or justice, threateneth thee ; poverty is painful unto thee ;
“ the loss of thy dear and well-beloved causeth thee to
“ mourn ; prosperity exalteth thee ; adversity bringeth thee
“ low : briefly, so divers and so manifold occasions of cares,
“ tribulations, and temptations besetteth thee and besiegeth
“ thee round about. Where canst thou have armour or
“ fortress against thine assaults ? Where canst thou have
“ salves for thy sores, but of holy Scripture ? Thy flesh
“ must needs be prone and subject to fleshly lusts, (which

“ daily walkest and art conversant among women, seest
 “ their beauties set forth to the eye, hearest their nice and
 “ wanton words, smelllest their balm, civet, and musk, with
 “ other like provocations and stirrings,) except thou hast in
 “ a readiness wherewith to suppress and avoid them, which
 “ cannot elsewhere be had but only out of the holy Scrip-
 “ tures. Let us read, and seek all remedies that we can,
 “ and all shall be little enough. How shall we then do, if
 “ we suffer and take daily wounds, and when we have done,
 “ will sit still and search for no medicines? Dost thou not
 “ mark and consider how the smith, mason, or carpenter, or
 “ any other handy craftsman, what need soever he be in,
 “ what other shift soever he make, he will not sell nor lay to
 “ pledge the tools of his occupation. For then how should
 “ he work his feat, or get his living thereby? Of like mind
 “ and affection ought we to be towards holy Scripture. For
 “ as mallets, hammers, saws, chisels, axes, and hatchets, be
 “ the tools of their occupation, so be the books of the pro-
 “ phets and apostles, and all holy Writ inspired by the holy
 “ Ghost, the instruments of our salvation. Wherefore let
 “ us not stick to buy and provide us the Bible, that is to
 “ say, the books of holy Scripture; and let us think that to
 “ be a better jewel in our house than either gold or silver.
 “ For like as thieves been loth to assault an house where they
 “ know to be good armour and artillery, so wheresoever
 “ these holy and ghostly books been occupied, there neither
 “ the Devil nor none of his angels dare come near. And
 “ they that occupy them been in much safeguard, and have
 “ a great consolation, and been the readier unto all goodness,
 “ the slower of all evil. And if they have done any thing
 “ amiss, anon, even by the sight of the books, their con-
 “ sciences be admonished, and they waxen sorry and
 “ ashamed of the fact.

“ Peradventure they will say unto me, How and if we
 “ understand not that we read that is contained in the
 “ books? What then? Suppose thou understand not the
 “ deep and profound mysteries of Scripture, yet can it
 “ not be, but that much fruit and holiness must come and

“grow unto thee by the reading. For it cannot be
“that thou shouldest be ignorant in all things alike. For
“the Holy Ghost hath so ordered and attempered the
“Scriptures, that in them, as well publicans, fishers, and
“shepherds may find their edification, as great doctors
“their erudition. For those books were not made to vain-
“glory, like as were the writings of the Gentile philosophers
“and rhetoricians, to the intent the makers should be had
“in admiration for their high styles, and obscure manner
“and writing; whereof nothing can be understand without a
“master or an expositor: but the apostles and prophets
“wrote their books so, that their special intent and pur-
“pose might be understand and perceived of every reader;
“which was nothing but the edification or amendment of
“the life of them that readeth or heareth it. Who is it,
“that reading or hearing read in the gospel, *Blessed are*
“*they that been meek; Blessed are they that been merciful;*
“*Blessed are they that been of clean heart,* and such other
“like places, can perceive nothing, except he have a mas-
“ter to teach him what it meaneth? Likewise the signs
“and miracles, with all other histories of the doings of
“Christ or his apostles, who is there of so simple wit and
“capacity but he may be able to perceive and understand
“them? These be but excuses and cloaks for the rain, and
“coverings of their own idle slothfulness. ‘I cannot un-
“derstand it.’ What marvel? How shouldest thou under-
“stand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the
“books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that
“thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou
“understandest not, read it again and again. If thou can
“neither so come by it, counsel with some other that is bet-
“ter learned. Go to thy curate and preacher, shew thyself
“to be desirous to know and learn. And I doubt not but
“God seeing thy diligence and readiness, if no man else
“teach thee, will himself vouchsafe with his Holy Spirit to
“illuminate thee, and to open unto thee that which was
“locked from thee.

“Remember the Eunuchus of Candace, Queen of Ethi-

“opy; which, albeit he was a man of a wild and bar-
 “barous country, and one occupied with worldly cures
 “and businesses, yet riding in his chariot he was read-
 “ing the Scripture. Now consider, if this man passing in
 “his journey was so diligent as to read the Scripture, what
 “thinkest thou of like was he wont to do sitting at home?
 “Again, he that letteth not to read, albeit he did not under-
 “stand, what did he then, trowest thou, after that, when
 “he had learned and gotten understanding? For that thou
 “mayest well know that he understood not what he read,
 “hearken what Philip there sayeth unto him: *Understandest*
 “*thou what thou readest?* And he nothing ashamed to con-
 “fess his ignorance, answereth, *How should I understand,*
 “*having no body to shew me the way?* Lo! when he lack-
 “ed one to shew him the way, and to expound to him the
 “Scriptures, yet did he read. And therefore God the rather
 “provided for him a guide of the way, that taught him to
 “understand it. God perceived his willing and toward
 “mind, and therefore he sent him a teacher by and by.
 “Therefore let no man be negligent about his own health
 “and salvation. Though thou have not Philip always
 “when thou wouldest, the Holy Ghost, which then moved
 “and stirred up Philip, will be ready and not fail thee, if
 “thou do thy diligence accordingly. All these things been
 “written unto us, for our edification and amendment, which
 “be born towards the latter end of the world. The read-
 “ing of Scriptures is a great and strong bulwark or for-
 “tress against sin; the ignorance of the same is the greater
 “ruin and destruction of them that will not know it. That
 “is the thing that bringeth in heresy; that is it that causeth
 “all corrupt and perverse living; that is it that bringeth
 “all things out of good order.”

Hitherto all that I have said I have taken and gathered
 out of the foresaid sermon of this holy doctor, S. John Chris-
 ostome. Now if I should in like manner bring forth what
 the self-same doctor speaketh in other places, and what
 other doctors and writers say concerning the same purpose,
 I might seem to you to write another Bible, rather than to

make a preface to the Bible. Wherefore in few words to comprehend the largeness and utility of the Scripture, how it containeth fruitful instruction and erudition for every man; If any thing be necessary to be learned, of the holy Scripture we may learn it. If falsehood shall be reprov'd, thereof we may gather wherewithal. If any thing be to be corrected and amended, if there need any exhortation or consolation, of the Scripture we may well learn. In the Scriptures be the fat pastures of the soul; therein is no venomous meat, no unwholesome thing; they be the very dainty and pure feeding. He that is ignorant shall find there what he should learn. He that is a perverse sinner shall there find his damnation, to make him to tremble for fear. He that laboureth to serve God shall find there his glory, and the promissions of eternal life, exhorting him more diligently to labour. Herein may princes learn how to govern their subjects: subjects, obedience love and dread to their princes. Husbands how they should behave them unto their wives, how to educate their children and servants; and contrary, the wives, children, and servants may know their duty to their husbands, parents, and masters. Here may all manner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned, rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men, virgins, wives, widows, lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons of what estate or condition soever they be, may in this book learn all things what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves and all other. Briefly, to the reading of the Scripture none can be enemy, but that either be so sick, that they love not to hear of any medicine; or else that be so ignorant, that they know not Scripture to be the most healthful medicine.

Therefore as touching this former part, I will here conclude, and take it as a conclusion sufficiently determine and appoint, that it is convenient and good the Scripture to be read of all sorts and kinds of people, and in the vulgar tongue, without further allegations and probations for the same; which shall not need, since that this one place of John

Chrisostome is enough and sufficient to persuade all them that be not frowardly and perversely set in their own wilful opinion. Specially now that the King's Highness, being supreme head next under Christ of this church of England, hath approved with his royal assent the setting forth hereof. Which only to all true and obedient subjects ought to be a sufficient reason for the allowance of the same, without farther delay, reclamation, or resistance, although there were no preface, nor other reason herein expressed.

Therefore now to come to the second and latter part of my purpose. Here is nothing so good in this world but it may be abused, and turned from fruitful and wholesome to hurtful and noisome. What is there above, better than the sun, the moon, the stars? Yet was there, that took occasion, by the great beauty and virtue of them, to dishonour God, and to defile themselves with idolatry, giving the honour of the living God and Creator of all things to such things as he had created. What is there here beneath, better than fire, water, meats, drinks, metals of gold, silver, iron, and steel? Yet we see daily great harm and much mischief done by every one of these, as well for lack of wisdom and providence of them that suffer evil, as by the malice of them that worketh the evil. Thus to them that be evil of themselves, every thing setteth forward and increaseth their evil, be it of his own nature a thing never so good. Like as contrarily to them that studieth and endeavoureth themselves to goodness, every thing prevaieth them, and profiteth unto good, be it of his own nature a thing never so bad. As St. Paul saith, *His, qui diligunt Deum, omnia cooperantur in bonum*. Even as out of most venomous worms is made triacle, the most sovereign medicine for the preservation of man's health in time of danger. Wherefore I would advise you all that cometh to the reading or hearing of this book, which is the word of God, the most precious jewel and most holy relic that remaineth upon earth, that ye bring with you the fear of God, and that ye do it with all reverence, and use your knowledge thereof not to vainglory of frivolous disputation, but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, and edification both of yourselves and other.

And to the intent that my words may be the more regarded, I will use in this part the authority of St. Gregory Nazianzene, like as in the other I did of St. John Chrisostome. It appeareth that in his time there were some, (as I fear me there been also now at these days a great number,) which were idle babblers and talkers of the Scripture out of season and all good order, and without any increase of virtue, or example of good living. To them he writeth all his first book *De Theologia*. Wherefore I shall briefly gather the whole effect, and recite it here unto you. "There been some," sayeth he, "whose not only ears and tongues, but also their fists, been whetted and ready bent all to contention and unprofitable disputation; whom I would wish, as they been vehement and earnest to reason the matter with tongue, so they were also ready and practive to do good deeds. But forasmuch as they, subverting the order of all godliness, have respect only to this thing, how they may bind and loose subtle questions, so that now every market-place, every alehouse and tavern, every feast-house, briefly, every company of men, every assembly of women, is filled with such talk; since the matter is so," saith he, "and that our faith and holy religion of Christ beginneth to wax nothing else, but as it were a sophistry or a talking-craft, I can no less do, but say something thereunto. It is not fit," sayeth he, "for every man to dispute the high questions of divinity, neither is it to be done at all times, neither in every audience must we discuss every doubt; but we must know when, to whom, and how far we ought to enter into such matters.

"First, It is not for every man; but it is for such as be of exact and exquisite judgments, and such as have spent their time before in study and contemplation, and such as before have cleansed themselves as well in soul as body, or at the least endeavoured themselves to be made clean. For it is dangerous," sayeth he, "for the unclean to touch that thing that is most clean; like as the sore eye taketh harm by looking upon the sun.

"Secondarily, Not at all times; but when we be reposed

“ and at rest from all outward dregs and trouble ; and when
“ that our heads been not encumbered with other worldly
“ and wandering imaginations. As if a man should mingle
“ balm and dirt together. For he that shall judge and
“ determine such matters and doubts of Scriptures, must
“ take his time, when he may apply his wits thereunto,
“ that he may thereby the better see and discern what is
“ truth.

“ Thirdly, Where, and in what audience? There, and
“ among those that have been studious to learn ; and not
“ among such as have pleasure to trifle with such matters,
“ as with other things of pastime ; which repute for their
“ chief delicates the disputation of high questions, to shew
“ their wits, learning, and eloquence in reasoning of high
“ matters.

“ Fourthly, It is to be considered, how far to wade in
“ such matters of difficulty. No further,” sayeth he, “ but
“ as every man’s own capacity will serve him ; and again no
“ further, than the weakness or intelligence of the other au-
“ dience may bear. For like as too great noise hurteth the
“ ear, too much meat hurteth the man’s body, heavy bur-
“ dens hurteth the bearers of them, too much rain doth more
“ hurt than good to the ground, briefly, in all things, too
“ much is noyous : even so, weak wits and weak consciences
“ may soon be oppressed with over hard questions. I say
“ not this to dissuade men from the knowledge of God, and
“ reading or studying of the Scripture. For I say, that it
“ is as necessary for the life of man’s soul, as for the body
“ to breathe. And if it were possible so to live, I would think
“ it good for a man to spend all his life in that, and to do
“ no other song. I commend the law, which biddeth to
“ meditate and study the Scriptures alway, both night and
“ day ; and sermons and preachings to be made both morn-
“ ing, noon, and eventide ; and God to be lauded and
“ blessed in all times, to bedward, from bed, in our jour-
“ neys, and all our other works. I forbid not to read, but
“ I forbid to reason. Neither forbid I to reason so far as is
“ good and godly ; but I allow not that is done out of sea-

“son, and out of measure and good order. A man may
“eat too much honey, be it never so sweet; and there is
“time for every thing; and that thing that is good is not
“good, if it be ungodly done. Even as a flower in winter
“is out of season; and as a woman’s apparel becometh not a
“man, neither, contrarily, the man’s the woman; neither is
“weeping convenient at a bridal, neither laughing at a bu-
“rial. Now if we can observe and keep that is comely and
“timely in all other things, shall not we then rather do
“the same in the holy Scriptures? Let us not run forth,
“as it were wild horses, that can suffer neither bridle in
“their mouths, nor sitter on their backs. Let us keep us
“in our bounds, and neither let us go too far on the one
“side, lest we return into Egypt; neither too far over the
“other, lest we be carried away to Babylon. Let us not
“sing the song of our Lord in a strange land; that is to
“say, let us not dispute the word of God at all adventures,
“as well where it is not to be reasoned, as where it is; and
“as well in the ears of them that be not fit therefore, as of
“them that be. If we can in no wise forbear but that we
“must needs dispute, let us forbear thus much at the least,
“to do it out of time and place convenient. And let us en-
“treat of those things which be holy, holily; and upon those
“things that been mystical, mystically; and not to utter
“the divine mysteries in the ears unworthy to hear them;
“but let us know what is comely as well in our silence and
“talking, as in our garments’ wearing, in our feeding, in our
“gesture, in our goings, and in all our other behaving. This
“contention and debate about Scriptures and doubts there-
“of, (specially when such as pretend to be the favourers
“and students thereof cannot agree within themselves,)
“doth most hurt to ourselves and to the furthering of the
“cause and quarrels that we would have furthered above
“all other things. And we in this,” sayeth he, “be not
“unlike to them that being mad set their own houses on
“fire, and that slay their own children, or beat their own
“parents. I marvel much,” sayeth he, “to recount whereof
“cometh all this desire of vain-glory, whereof cometh all

“ this tongue-itch, that we have so much delight to talk and
 “ clatter? And wherein is our communication? Not in the
 “ commendations of virtuous and good deeds of hospitality,
 “ of love between Christian brother and brother, of love be-
 “ tween man and wife, of virginity and chastity, and of alms
 “ towards the poor; not in psalms and godly songs, not in
 “ lamenting for our sins, not in repressing the affections
 “ of the body, not in prayers to God. We talk of Scrip-
 “ ture, but in the meantime we subdue not our flesh by
 “ fasting, waking, and weeping; we make not this life a
 “ meditation of death; we do not strive to be lords over
 “ our appetites and affections; we go not about to pull
 “ down our proud and high minds, to abate our fumes and
 “ rancorous stomachs, to restrain our lusts and bodily de-
 “ lectations, our indiscreet sorrows, our lascivious mirth,
 “ our inordinate looking, our insatiable hearing of vanities,
 “ our speaking without measure, our inconvenient thoughts,
 “ and briefly, to reform our life and manners. But all our
 “ holiness consisteth in talking. And we pardon each other
 “ from all good living, so that we may stick fast together in
 “ argumentation; as though there were no mo ways to heaven
 “ but this alone, the way of speculation and knowledge, (as
 “ they take it,) but in very deed it is rather the way of su-
 “ perfluous contention and sophistication.”

Hitherto have I recited the mind of Gregory Nazianzene
 in that book which I spake of before. The same author
 sayeth also in another place, “that the learning of a Christian
 “ man ought to begin of the fear of God, to end in matters
 “ of high speculation: and not contrarily to begin with spe-
 “ culation, and to end in fear. For speculation,” sayeth he,
 “ either high cunning and knowledge, if it be not stayed with
 “ the bridle of fear to offend God, is dangerous, and enough
 “ to tumble a man headlong down the hill. Therefore,”
 sayeth he, “the fear of God must be the first beginning, and
 “ as it were an A. B. C. or an introduction to all them that
 “ shall enter to the very true and most fruitful knowledge of
 “ holy Scriptures. Where as is the fear of God, there is,”
 sayeth he, “the keeping of the Commandments, there is

“ the cleansing of the flesh ; which flesh is a cloud before
 “ the souls eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of
 “ the heavenly light. Where as is the cleansing of the flesh,
 “ there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of
 “ all our desires, and the very light whereby the verity of
 “ Scriptures is seen and perceived.” This is the mind and
 almost the words of Gregory Nazianzene, doctor of the
 Greek church ; of whom St. Jerome sayeth, that unto his
 time the Latin church had no writer able to be compared,
 and to make an even match with him.

Therefore to conclude this latter part ; every man that
 cometh to the reading of this holy book ought to bring with
 him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God ; and then
 next, a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self ac-
 cording thereunto ; and so to continue, proceed and prosper
 from time to time, shewing himself to be a sober and fruit-
 ful hearer and learner. Which if he do, he shall prove at
 length well able to teach, though not with his mouth, yet
 with his living and good example ; which is sure the most
 lively and effectuous form and manner of teaching. He
 that otherwise intermeddleth with this book, let him be as-
 sured that once he shall make account therefore, when he
 shall have said to him, as it is written in the prophet David,
Peccatori dicit Deus, &c. Unto the ungodly said God : Why Psalm 50.
dost thou preach my laws, and takest my testament in thy
mouth ? Whereas thou hatest to be reformed : and hast been
partaker with advouters. Thou hast let thy mouth speak
wickedness : and with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceit.
Thou satest, and spakest against thy brother : and hast
slandered thine own mother's son. These things hast thou
done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest wickedly,
that I am even such a one as thyself : but I will reprove
thee, and set before thee the things that thou hast done. O
consider this ye that forget God : lest I pluck you away,
and there be none to deliver you. Whoso offereth me thanks
and praise, he honoureth me : and to him that ordereth his
conversation right will I show the salvation of God.

God save the King.

[*A Speech at the Coronation of Edward VI.*
Feb. 20. 1547.]^a

*Foxes and
Firebrands,*
part ii. p. 2.
Strype,
Cranmer,
p. 144.

MOST Dread and Royal Sovereign : The promises your Highness hath made here at your Coronation to forsake the Devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the Bishop of Rome's sense, when you commit any thing distasteful to that see, to hit your Majesty in the teeth, as Pope Paul the third, late Bishop of Rome, sent to your royal father, saying, ' Didst thou not promise, at our permission of thy Coronation, to forsake the Devil and all his works, and dost thou turn to heresy ? for the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not, that it is in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please ? ' We, your Majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive, that this promise reacheth not at your Highness' sword, spiritual or temporal, or in the least at your Highness swaying the sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the Bishops of Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then taken upon that ceremony.

The Bishops of Canterbury for the most part have crowned your predecessors, and anointed them kings of this land : yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or to leave their crowns, although the Bishops of Rome would encroach upon your predecessors by his bi-

^a [Robert Ware, who first printed this Speech in *Foxes and Firebrands* part 2. says, that " the collections in this second part are most of them " either out of the memorials of that great minister of state, the lord Cecil, or from the testimonies of persons that are still living." Strype, who copied it from thence, writes thus : " At this coronation there was " no sermon as I can find, but that was supplied by an excellent Speech, " which was made by the Archbishop. It was found among the inestimable collections of Archbishop Usher." It is here printed from the copy in *Foxes and Firebrands*, search having been made in vain at Dublin for the original.]

shops' act and oil, that in the end they might possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to their claws and clip them.

The solemn rites of Coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or necessity: they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity. For they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained, of their sword which is authorized, of their persons which are elected by God, and indued with the gifts of his Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of his people. The oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest; but if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, the Bishop of Rome (or other bishops owning his supremacy) hath no authority: but he may faithfully declare what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers, that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your Royal Majesty, what things your Highness is to perform.

Your Majesty is God's vicegerent and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josiah, who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents on those kings who performed not these things, the old law shews how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and

on those kings who fulfilled these things, he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah in the book of the Kings thus; *Like unto him there was no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him.* This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days.

Being bound by my function to lay these things before your Royal Highness, the one as a reward, if you fulfil, the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect them: yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your Majesty deprived, if your Highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances; much less to draw up indentures between God and your Majesty, or to say you forfeit your crown with a clause, for the Bishop of Rome, as have been done by your Majesty's predecessors, King John, and his son Henry of this land. The Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his countenance shine upon your Majesty, grant you a prosperous and happy reign, defend you and save you: and let your subjects say, *Amen.*

God save the King.

[*Notes on Justification, with Authorities from Scripture, the Fathers, and the Schoolmen.*]^a

^b St. Paul saith that we be justified freely by faith without works, because no man should glory in his works ;

Stillington MSS
Lamb.
Libr. 1108.
f. 58.

Ephes. ii. "Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem, idque non ex vobis ; Dei donum est : non ex operibus, *'ne quis gloriatur.'*"

Titus iii. "Apparuit gratia Dei Salvatoris nostri, non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit."

Rom. iii. "Omnes peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei, justificati gratis gratia ipsius per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu." Et mox. "*Ubi est ergo gloriatio tua ? Exclusa est.* Per quam le-

^a [This short statement of the doctrine of Justification by Faith is taken from a manuscript now at Lambeth, which formerly belonged to Bishop Stillington. It is written, as are nearly the whole of the authorities which accompany it, by Cranmer's own hand, and is conjectured by Dr. Wordsworth to have been the foundation of the three Homilies of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, which have been usually attributed to the Archbishop.]

This conjecture is supported by some remarkable coincidences, both in the mode of expressing the doctrine, and in the authorities adduced to prove it. The document therefore is valuable, not only as a specimen of Cranmer's method of study, and as a concise and undoubted declaration of his tenets on Justification, but as an evidence hitherto not generally known of his contributions to our first book of Homilies.

Burnet mentions it, vol. i. p. 576., and extracts two sentences, "to let the world see that Cranmer was not at all concerned in those niceties which have been so much inquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of faith in justification ; all that he then considered being, that the glory of it might be ascribed only to the death and intercession of Jesus Christ." Two of the paragraphs are inserted by Mr. Young in the notes to his *Sermon on Justification*, having been communicated to him by Dr. Wordsworth. The remainder, as far as the editor is aware, is now printed for the first time.]

^b [In the original manuscript the English sentences are written at the top of the page, so as to be read consecutively with ease ; the authorities being in each case placed under the propositions which they were intended to support. The difference of type, it is hoped, will here answer the same purpose. A caution must be added against relying on these authorities too implicitly, as some of them are taken from works now held to be spurious.]

^c [The words printed in Italics are underlined in the original, probably by Cranmer himself.]

gem? Operum? Non, *sed per legem fidei*. Arbitramur enim *fide* justificari, &c. *Si Abraham ex operibus justificatus est, habet gloriationem, sed non apud Deum.*"

Gal. iii. "Si data esset lex, quæ posset vivificare, vere ex lege esset justitia. Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccatum, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus."

Gal. v. "Evacuati estis a Christo, quicumque in lege justificamini, a gratia cecidistis. Nos autem Spiritu ex fide spem justitiæ expectamus."

I Cor. i. "Videte vocationem vestram, fratres, quia non multi sapientes secundum carnem, non multi potentes, non multi nobiles, sed quæ stulta sunt mundi elegit Deus, &c. *ut non gloriatur omnis caro coram ipso.*"

Ibid. "Christus factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, justitiaque et sanctificatio et redemptio, *ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, qui gloriatur, in Deo gloriatur.*"

Gal. vi. "Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

Origenes.

"Audi quid dicat Apostolus. 'Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi.' *Vides Apostolum non gloriantem super justitia sua, neque super castitate, neque super sapientia, neque super cæteris virtutibus vel actibus suis, sed apertissime pronunciantem et dicentem, 'Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur.'*" Et mox: "Quis vel justitia sua gloriabitur, cum audiat Deum per prophetam dicentem, 'Omnis justitia vestra sicut pannus mulieris menstruæ.' Sola igitur justa gloriatio est in fide crucis Christi."

Basilus.

"Dicit Apostolus quod 'Christus nobis factus est sapientia a Deo, *justitiaque et sanctificatio et redemptio, ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur.*' Hæc enim est perfecta ac integra gloriatio in Deo, quum *neque ob justitiam suam quis se jactet, sed novit quidem seipsum veræ justitiæ indignum esse, sola autem fide in Christum justificatur. Et gloriatur Paulus ob justitiæ suæ contemptum, et quia quærit per Christum justitiam ex Deo in fide.*"

Hieronymus.

"Convertentem impium per solam fidem justificat Deus, non per opera bona quæ non habuit. Alioquin per impietatis opera fuerat puniendus."

Theodoretus.

“‘Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas propter me, et peccatorum tuorum non recordabor.’ *Nec enim ullis operibus, sed per solam fidem mystica bona consecuti sunt.*”

Augustinus.

“Si gratia est, gratis datur. Quid est “gratis datur”? Nihil boni fecisti, et datur tibi remissio peccatorum. Attenduntur opera tua, et inveniuntur omnia mala. Si quod debetur istis operibus, Deus redderet, utique damnaret. Non reddit Deus debitam pœnam, sed donat indebitam gratiam.

Nec quod recti sunt corde, sed ut recti sint corde, prætendit justitiam suam qua justificat impium.” *De Spiritu et Litera, cap. 7.*

Ambrosius.

“Ideo nemo gloriatur in operibus, quod nemo factis suis justificatur, sed qui justus est, donatum habet.”

Idem. “Manifeste beati sunt, quibus sine labore aut opere aliquo remittuntur iniquitates et peccata teguntur, nulla ab eis requisita pœnitentiæ opera, nisi tantum ut credant.”

Idem. “Convenit ut creatura in solo nomine Domini Creatoris consequatur salutem, hoc est, per fidem.”

Lombardus.

“‘Ubi est gloriatio tua? Sola fide sine operibus præcedentibus fit homo justus.’”

Bruno.

“Vere per fidem excluditur gloriatio tua, nam fides sola justificat, sine omni opere legis.”

Prosper, De Gratia et Lib. Arb.

“Qui credunt, Dei aguntur Spiritu: qui non credunt, libero avertuntur arbitrio. Conversio ergo nostra ad Deum, non ex nobis, sed ex Deo est, sicut Apostolus dicit: ‘Gratia salvi estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis, sed donum Dei est, et non ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur.’”

Et mox: “Non juste agebat homo, et aucta est justitia ejus. Nec ad Deum gradiebatur, et confirmatus est cursus ejus. Nec diligebat Deum, et inflammata est charitas ejus. Sed cum esset sine fide ac proinde impius, accepit Spiritum Dei et factus est justus.”

Et mox: “Gratia igitur Dei quoscunque justificat, non ex bonis meliores, sed ex malis bonos fecit, postea per profectum ex bonis factura meliores.”

Chrysostomus. Rom. iii.

"Dicens Paulus, '*Exclusa est gloriatio,*' simul etiam ostendit quomodo sit exclusa. Quomodo igitur exclusa est? inquit; 'Per quam legem? Operum? Nequaquam, sed *per legem fidei.*' Quæ vero ista fidei lex est? *per gratiam videlicet salvari.*"

Meaning thereby to exclude the merit and dignity of all works and virtues, as insufficient to deserve remission of sin, and to ascribe the same only to Christ.

Rom. iv. "Ideo ex fide ut secundum gratiam."

Origenes	}	supra.
Basilius		
Hieronymus		
Augustinus		
Theodoretus		
Ambrosius		

Chrysostomus postea.

Ambrosius.

"Dignitatem et meritum non facit nisi fides."

Augustinus.

"Opera bona sequuntur justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum."

"Per gratiam justificatur homo gratis, id est, nullis suorum operum præcedentibus meritis. Alioquin gratia jam non est gratia." *De Spiritu et Lit. cap. 10.*

"Nihilque aliud velit intelligi in eo quod dicit gratis, nisi quod justificationem opera non præcedunt." *De Spiritu et Lit. cap. 26.*

"Per fidem impetratio gratiæ contra peccatum, per gratiam sanatio animæ a vitio peccati, per animæ sanitatem libertas arbitrii," &c. *De Spiritu et Lit. cap. 30.*

Bernardus.

"Non est quo gratia intret, ubi jam meritum occupavit. Deest gratiæ quicunque meritis deputat. Gratia me reddit justificatum gratis, et sic liberatum a servitute peccati."

Bruno.

"Fides credentis reputatur ei ad justitiam, quod justificatur sine omni merito per solam fidem."

Chrysostomus.

"Non ex benefactis, nec laboribus, nec pensatore, sed sola

gratia justificavit genus nostrum. Quod et Paulus declarans dicit, 'Nunc autem absque lege justitia Dei manifestata est.' Justitia autem Dei per fidem Jesu Christi, non per ullum sudorem aut dolorem."

Idem. "Ne tuæ confidas pœnitentiæ, tua namque pœnitentia tanta nequit peccata delere."

"*Si sola foret pœnitentia, jure timeres* : sed postquam cum pœnitentia commiscetur Dei misericordia, confide, quia tuam vicit nequitiam."

Gennadius.

"*Gratis, hoc est, absque bonis operibus* salvus factus es, ut nihil contuleris præter fidem. Justificatus autem *gratis justificaris, et a tergo venis post gloriam et beneficium Dei.* Egent gloria Dei, hoc est, a tergo veniunt, et non præoccupaverunt glorificare Deum. Ideo omnes qui crediderunt in Christum, gratis justificantur, credere tamen coimportantes."

Lombardus.

"Per fidem justificatur impius, ut *deinde ipsa fides incipiat per dilectionem operari. Ea enim sola bona opera dicenda sunt quæ fiunt per dilectionem Dei.* Ipsa enim dilectio opus fidei dicitur."

Erasmus.

"His qui pure simpliciterque Christo fidunt, hoc præstat fides, ut pro justis habeantur, *nulla legis observatæ commendatione sed solius fidei.*"

Augustinus.

"*Quomodo ergo justificabitur homo per fidem sine operibus?* Responderet ipse Apostolus, *Propterea hoc dixi tibi, O homo, ne quasi de operibus tuis præsumere videreris, et merito operum tuorum accepisse fidei gratiam.*"

Prosper, in Psalm. cii.

"Retributiones Dei *non secundum merita* humana sunt factæ. Nam damnatio peccatoribus debebatur, sed gratia præstita est malis, et salus perditis."

Et mox : "Ostendit per quos gradus gratiæ anima humana salvetur. '*Qui propitius sit,*' inquit, '*omnibus iniquitatibus tuis.*' Non ait, *omnibus virtutibus tuis, quæ utique nullæ ei inessent, nisi fieret remissio peccatorum.* Quæ ne rursus exsurgant, '*Sanat,*' inquit, '*omnes languores tuos.*'" &c.

Chrysostomus. Rom. iii.

"Cujusnam gratia omnia fecit lex ? Quatenus justum redderet

hominem. Verum illud præstare lex non potuit. 'Omnes enim,' inquit, 'peccaverunt.' Adveniens vero fides illud præstitit. *Quam primum enim homo credidit, confestim simul justificatus est.*"

Anselmus. Rom. iv.

"Non ideo Apostolus dicit, 'Arbitramur hominem justificari per fidem,' uti, si quis crediderit, non ad eum pertineat bene operari, sed ideo potius, ut nemo putet meritis priorum bonorum operum se pervenisse ad donum justificationis quæ est in fide. Nam justificatus per fidem, quomodo potest nisi juste deinceps operari? quamvis nihil antea juste operatus, ad fidei justificationem pervenerit. Sequuntur enim opera justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum."

Idem. "Manifestum est Jacobum loqui de operibus quæ fidem subsequuntur. Paulus sine præcedentibus operibus dixit hominem sola fide justificari. *Nemo enim fidem suis præcedentibus meritis habere potest, et ideo qui per fidem gratis sibi datam justificatur, non in se sed in Domino gloriatur.*"

When St. Paul said, 'We be justified freely by faith without works,' he meant of all manner of works of the law, as well of the Ten Commandments, as of ceremonials and judicials.

Rom. iii. "Ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro. Nam per legem agnitio peccati. Legem ergo destruimus per fidem? Absit, sed legem stabilimus."

Rom. ii. "Si præputium justificationes legis servaverit, nonne præputium illius pro circumcisione imputabitur? Et judicabit quod est ex natura præputium (si legem servaverit) te qui per literam et circumcisionem transgressor es legis."

"Qui prædicas non furandum, furaris: qui dicis non mœchan-dum, mœcharis: qui abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis: qui in lege gloriaris, per prævaricationem legis Deum inhonoras."

"Circumcisio quidem prodest, si legem observes. Si autem prævaricator legis sis, circumcisio tua præputium facta est."

Rom. iv. "Lex iram operatur, ubi enim non est lex, nec prævaricatio."

Rom. v. "Peccatum non imputatur, cum non est lex."

"Lex subintravit, ut abundaret delictum."

Rom. vii. "Peccatum non cognovi, nisi per legem. Nam et concupiscentiam non novissem, nisi lex dixisset, Non concupisces."

—Lex quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum et justum et bonum. Quod ergo bonum est, mihi factum est mors? Absit.—Scimus enim quod lex spiritualis est, ego autem carnalis.—Invenio igitur legem volenti mihi facere bonum, quum mihi malum adjacet. Condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem."

Rom. viii. "De peccato damnavit peccatum in carne, ut justificatio legis impleretur in nobis."

Rom. ix. "Israel persequens legem justitiæ in legem justitiæ non pervenit. Propter quid? Quia non ex fide, sed tanquam ex operibus legis."

2 Cor. iii. "Littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat."

Gal. ii. "Si per legem est justitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est."

Gal. iii. "Si data esset lex, quæ posset justificare, vere ex lege esset justitia."

Ephes. ii. "Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem, idque non ex vobis."

Philippen. iii. "Secundum justitiam quæ est in lege, factus irreprehensibilis.—Omnia reputavi stercora esse, ut Christum lucrificiam, et reperiar in illo non habens meam justitiam quæ est ex lege, sed illam quæ est ex fide Christi."

Tit. iii. "Apparuit gratia Dei Salvatoris nostri, non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit."

The same meant divers ancient authors, as well Greeks as Latins, when they said, 'We be justified by only faith, or faith alone.'

Origenes supra.

Hieronymus.

"'Ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro.' Quod ne de lege Mosis tantum dictum putes, et non de omnibus mandatis, (quæ uno legis nomine continentur) idem Apostolus scribit dicens, 'Consentio legi Dei' &c."

Gennadius.

"*Gratis servaris, hoc est, sine operibus virtutum, aut officiis rectis et perfectis.*"

<i>Theodoretus</i>	} supra
<i>Ambrosius</i>	
<i>Chrysostomus</i>	
<i>Bernardus</i>	

Augustinus, De Spiritu et Litera cap. 8. 13. 14. 29. Et, *Ad Simplicianum* q. 2.

Thomas.

“ ‘Arbitramur justificari hominem ex fide sine operibus legis.’ Non solum *sine operibus cæremonialibus* (quæ gratiam non conferebant sed solum significabant) *sed etiam sine operibus moralium præceptorum*. Tit. iii. ‘Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit.’ ”

Idem. “Moralium præceptorum legitimus usus est, ut homo attribuat eis quod in eis continetur. ‘Data est lex ut cognoscatur peccatum.’ Non est ergo in eis spes justificationis, sed in sola fide. Rom. iii. ‘Arbitramur justificari hominem ex fide sine operibus legis.’ ”

Augustinus, De Spiritu et Lit. cap. 4.

“Doctrina illa, qua mandatum accepimus continenter recteque vivendi, litera est occidens, nisi adsit vivificans Spiritus.”

St. James meant of justification in another sense, when he said, ‘A man is justified by works and not by faith only.’ For he spake of such a justification which is a declaration, continuation, and increase of that justification which St. Paul spake of before.

Jac. ii. “Si fidem quis dicat se habere, opera autem non habeat, numquid poterit fides salvare eum?”

Ibid. “Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex operibus tuis, et ego ostendam tibi fidem meum ex operibus meis.”

Ibid. “Abraham pater noster nonne ex operibus justificatus est, cum immolaret filium suum super altare?”

1 Mac. ii. “Abraham in tentatione nonne inventus est fidelis?”

Gen. xxii. “Tentavit Deus Abraham.”

Apoc. xxii. “Qui justus est, justificetur adhuc.”

Beda.

“Credere in Deum soli novere qui diligunt Deum, qui non solo nomine fiunt Christiani, sed et factis et vita.”

Et mox. "Cum *Jacobus* bona opera commemorat Abrahæ, quæ ejus fidem comitata sunt, satis ostendit Paulum Apostolum, non ita per Abraham docere justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus, ut, si quis crediderit, non ad eum pertineat bene operari: sed ad hoc potius, ut nemo arbitretur meritis priorum bonorum operum *se pervenisse ad donum justificationis*, quæ est in fide.

Unde Apostolus Paulus dicit posse hominem sine operibus, scilicet præcedentibus, *justificari per fidem*. Nam justificatus per fidem quomodo potest nisi *juste operari*?"

Glossa ordinaria.

"Probavit Apostolus, eos qui opera non habent, veram fidem non habere. Quod Abraham per fidem sine operibus justificatus dicitur, de operibus quæ præcedebant intelligitur. Quia per opera quæ fecit insons non fuit, sed sola fide. Hic de operibus agitur quæ fidem sequuntur, per quæ *amplius justificatur*, cum jam per fidem *fuisset justus*. Heb. xi. 'Fide Abraham obtulit filium suum, cum tentaretur.' Hæc oblatio fuit opus et testimonium fidei et justitiæ."

Hugo Cardinalis.

"Apostolus loquitur ad Rom. de operibus præcedentibus fidem, (quibus non Abraham nec alius justificatus est;) hic vero est sermo de operibus sequentibus fidem: *quæ dicuntur justificare*, tum quod justificationem jam habitam per fidem infusam *notificant*, tum quod eam *perficiunt et conservant*. Et tunc fieri dicitur, quando perficitur, vel quum innotescit."

Et mox: "Abraham per fidem fuit justificatus, opera autem fidem perficiunt, notificant, augmentant, et confirmant."

Lyra.

"'Et suppleta est Scriptura dicens, Credidit Abraham Deo, et imputatum est ei ad justitiam.' Ex oblatione Isaac Scriptura illa dicitur esse suppleta, in quantum per hoc magnitudo fidei Abrahæ fuit aliis declarata."

Prosper, De Vita contemplativa lib. iii. cap. 21.

"Fides quæ est justitiæ fundamentum, quam nulla bona opera præcedunt, et ex qua omnia procedunt, ipsa nos a peccatis omnibus purgat, mentes nostras illuminat, Deo reconciliat," &c. *Idem, in Libro Sententiarum ex Augustino.* "Sicut duo sunt officia medicinæ, unum quo sanatur infirmitas, aliud quo custoditur sanitas; ita duo sunt dona gratiæ, unum quod aufert carnis cupiditatem, aliud quod facit animi perseverari virtutem."

Idem, eodem, cap. 7. et In Psalm. ciii.

“Charitas Dei et proximi propria et specialis virtus est piorum atque sanctorum, cum cæteræ virtutes et bonis et malis possunt esse communes.”

This proposition, that we be justified by Christ only and not by our good works, is a very true and necessary doctrine of St. Paul and other the apostles and prophets, taught by them to set forth thereby the glory of Christ, and mercy of God by Christ.

1 Tim. ii. “Unus Deus, unus Mediator Dei et hominum.”

Rom. ii. “Si ex gratia, non ex operibus, alioqui gratia jam non est gratia.”

“Si ex operibus, jam non est gratia.”

1 Cor. i. “Ut non gloriatur omnis caro,” sed, “qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur.”

Gal. iii. “Abrahæ dictæ sunt promissiones et semini ejus. Non dicit seminibus, sed quasi in uno, et semini tuo, qui est Christus.”

Although all that be justified must of necessity have charity as well as faith, yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness and merits of our justification, but that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ, which was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification.

Tit. iii. “Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit.”

Dan. ix. “Non in justificationibus nostris prosternimus preces ante faciem tuam, sed in miserationibus tuis multis.”

Anselm. Rom. iii.

“Ne fides ipsa superbire incipiat et dicat: Si ex fide, quomodo gratis? Quod enim fides meretur, potius redditur quam datur. Sed si quis dixerit, ut merear justificationem, habeo fidem: respondetur ei; ‘Quid habes quod non accepisti?’”

Thomas infra.

Yet nevertheless, because *by faith we know God's mercy* and grace promised by his word, (and that freely for Christ's death and passion sake,) and *believe the same*, and being

truly penitent, we by faith *receive the same*, and so excluding all glory from ourselves, we do by faith *transcribe the whole glory of our justification to the merits of Christ only*, (which properly is not the nature and office of charity) therefore to set forth the same, it is said of faith in ancient writers, 'we be justified only by faith,' or, 'by faith alone,' and in St. Paul, 'we be justified by faith freely without works.'

Rom. iv. "Ideo ex fide ut secundum gratiam."

Gal. iii. "Christus nos redemit ex maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictus. Ut in gentes benedictio Dei fieret in Christo Jesu, ut promissionem Spiritus acciperemus per fidem."

Acts x. "Huic omnes prophetæ testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen ejus omnes qui credunt in eum."

Acts xiii. "Notum sit vobis, viri fratres, quod per hunc vobis remissio peccatorum annunciatur, et ab omnibus a quibus non potuistis in lege Moses justificari, in hoc omnis qui credit justificatur."

Augustinus.

"His qui gratiam (quam commendat Apostolus *et percipit fides Christi*) putatis esse naturam, verissime dicit: '*Si ex natura justitia, ergo gratis Christus mortuus est.*'"

Prosper.

"Si aliqui consequi hoc per gratiam confitentur, et *id non accipit nisi fides*: quæ accepta non est, in ipsa est meritum: cui non donum datur, sed meritum redditur."

Ambrosius.

"Per fidem prædicationis Jesu Christi agnoscitur donum dudum promissum a Deo, *vel sumitur.*"

Theodoretus supra.

Hisichius.

"Miseratus Deus humanum genus, cum illud ad explenda legis opera infirmatum vidisset, jam non ex operibus salvari, sed per gratiam, hominem voluit. Gratia vero ex misericordia atque compassione præbetur, *et fide comprehenditur sola*, 'non ex operibus,' ut Paulus dicit, nam 'gratia jam non erit gratia.'"

Bernardus.

"Oleum misericordiæ non reponit nisi in vasa fidei."

Thomas.

"Fides hominis imputatur ad justitiam, non quidem ita, quod per fidem justitiam mereatur, sed quod ipsum credere est primus actus justitiæ, quam Deus in eo operatur. Ex eo enim quod credit in Deum justificantem, justificationi ejus subicit se, et sic recipit effectum."

Magister Sententiarum.

"Per fidem justificatur impius, ut deinde ipsa fides incipiat per dilectionem operari. Ea enim sola bona opera dicenda sunt, quæ fiunt per dilectionem Dei. Ipsa enim dilectio opus fidei dicitur."

Antididagma.

"Per fidem (qua absque dubitatione firmiter confidimus nobis qui veram peccatorum poenitentiam habemus peccata nostra propter Christum esse dimissa) justificamur tanquam per causam susceptivam."

Augustinus, De Spiritu et Lit.

"Per legem fidei quisque cognoscit, si quis bene vivit, Dei gratiam se habere, et ut perficiatur in dilectionem justitiæ non se aliunde consecuturum. Quæ cogitatio pium facit, quia pietas est vera sapientia."

Contra Julianum. "Ex fide autem justitiam ideo dicit esse ex Deo, quia Deus ' unicuique partitur mensuram fidei,' et ad fidem pertinet credere, quod ' Deus in nobis operetur et velle,' " &c.

"Fides habetur, quod aliquanto post dicit, quum ' omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit : ' ad quam salutem pertinet, ut opera nulla sint, et justitia nobis ex Deo sit."

Idem. "[Si] Fides in nobis, Christus in nobis. Quid enim aliud dicit Apostolus, ' habitare Christum in cordibus nostris per fidem ? ' Ergo fides tua de Christo, Christus est in corde tuo."

Et, *In Psalm. cxviii.* "In lege factorum est Dei jubentis justitia : in lege autem fidei subvenientis misericordia."

Origines. Rom. iv.

"Jam sane considerabis, si, ut de fide dictum est, quod reputatum est ei ad justitiam, ita de aliis virtutibus dici possit," &c.

Et mox : "Quod autem dicit : ' Ei vero qui operatur ' &c. videtur ostendere, quasi in fide quidem gratia sit justificantis, in opere vero justitia tribuentis." Et longe infra super hunc locum : ' Ideo ex fide, ut secundum gratiam.' " In superioribus, inquit, distinctionem dedit mercedis et gratiæ, dicens mercedem rem debitam esse, gratiam autem nullius esse debiti, sed benevolentis beneficium.

Et in præsenti ergo loco ostendere volens, Deum hæreditatem promissionum non ex debito, sed ex gratia dare, dicit quia hæreditas a Deo his qui credunt, non ex mercedis debito, sed fidei munere concedatur. Sicut enim (ut exempli gratia dixerim) hoc quod subsistimus non potest intelligi, quod ex operis nostri mercede subsistamus, sed evidenter Dei munus est quod sumus, et gratia Conditoria, qui esse nos voluit: ita, etsi hæreditatem promissionum Dei capiamus, divinæ gratiæ est, non alicujus debiti aut operis merces."

Augustinus.

"Medicina enim animæ vulnerum, et una propitiatio pro delictis omnibus, est credere in Christum."

"Credentibus sufficit fides ad justificationem."

"'Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei appellatus est.' Quod credidit Deo, intus in corde, in sola fide est."

"Ipsa justitia est ex fide, qua credimus nos justificari, hoc est, justos fieri gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum."

'Ne quis gloriatur.'

Augustinus. "Non hoc ideo dicit, quia opera bona pia cogitatione facta frustrentur (cum Deus reddat cuique secundum opera ejus, sitque gloria Dei operanti bonum,) sed quia opera ex gratia, non ex operibus gratia."

Thomas. Ephes. ii. "'Justificati per gratiam ipsius.' Idem enim est salvari et justificari."

"Subdit rationem quare Deus salvat homines per fidem absque meritis præcedentibus: ut ne quis gloriatur in seipso, sed tota gloria in Deum referatur. 1 Cor. i. 'Ut non gloriatur omnis caro in conspectu ejus.'"

Ambrosius. Ephes. ii. "Verum est, quod omnis gratiarum actio salutis nostræ ad Deum referenda est, qui misericordiam suam nobis præstat, ut revocaret errantes ad vitam, non quærentes rectum iter. Ideoque non est gloriandum nobis in nobis ipsis, sed in Deo: qui nos regeneravit nativitate cœlesti per fidem Christi."

Hieronymus. Ephes. ii. "Hoc autem totum propterea dixit, ne quis gloriatur a semet ipso et non a Deo se esse salvatum."

'Ideo ex fide ut secundum gratiam.'

Theophylactus. Rom. iv. "Quia lex iram operatur, propterea

^a [This work is now held to be spurious.]

ex fide dicitur justificari Abrahamus ac hæres constitui, ut secundum gratiam omnia fiant."

Ecumenius. "Per legem, inquit, non confirmantur promissiones, quod secundum modum aliquem impediuntur. Quomodo? Quia lex iram operatur, eo quod non observatur. Nemo enim illam poterat implere. Unde autem ira, quomodo hæreditas? Quomodo hæreditatem accipiet, qui irritavit? Quomodo venient promissiones? Fides, inquit, gratiam inducit Dei, existente autem gratia, veniunt et implentur promissiones."

^b *Augustinus, De fide ad Petrum*^c. "Fundamentum est *Christus Jesus, id est, Christi fides*, scilicet quæ per dilectionem operatur, per quam Christus habitat in cordibus, quæ neminem perire sinit."

Thomas. "Fides et spes attingunt Deum secundum quod ex ipso provenit nobis vel cognitio veri vel adeptio boni, sed charitas attingit Deum, ut in ipso sistat, *non ut ex eo aliquid nobis prove-niat*."

Augustinus et Alipius Bonifacio, Epist. 106.^d

"Quis nos ab illa perditionis massa discernit, nisi qui venit quærere et salvare quod perierat. Unde Apostolus interrogat, dicens, 'Quis enim te discernit?' Ubi si dixerit homo, 'Fides mea,' 'voluntas mea,' 'bonum opus meum;' respondetur ei: 'Quid habes quod non accepisti?' " &c.

"Si aliquid boni operatur homo, ut gratiam mereatur, non ei merces imputatur secundum gratiam, sed secundum debitum. Si autem credat in eum qui justificat impium, ut deputetur fides ejus ad justitiam, ('Justus enim ex fide vivit') *profecto antequam gratia justificetur, id est, justus efficiatur, impius quid est nisi impius?* Quem si debitum sequeretur, quid ejus merito nisi supplicium redderetur?"

"Si quis autem dixerit, *quod gratiam bene operandi fides mereatur*, negare non possumus, imo vero gratissime confitemur."

"*Ipsa est justitia ex fide, qua credimus nos justificari, hoc est,*

^b [The remainder of these extracts, as the original manuscript is at present bound, precede the above: but they seem more naturally to follow them, and have therefore been transposed. Having laid down his doctrine on *faith*, Cranmer appears to have proceeded to collect authorities for shewing its connection with *works*.]

^c [This treatise is ascribed by the Benedictine editors to Fulgentius.]

^d [In the Benedictine edition this epistle is the 186th, and is said to have been addressed to Paulinus.]

justos fieri, gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, ut inveniamur in illo non habentes nostram justitiam quæ ex lege est, sed eam quæ est per fidem Christi. Quæ est ex Deo justitia in fide? Utique in fide qua credimus nobis justitiam divinitus dari, non a nobis in nobis nostris viribus fieri."

"Justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius, ne fides ipsa superba sit. Nec dicat sibi, si ex fide, quomodo gratis? *Quod enim fides me-* *Fides non*
retur, cur non potius redditur quam donatur? Non dicat ista *meretur*
 homo fidelis; quia cum dixerit, 'Ut merear justificationem habeo *justificatio-*
nem.' fidem: respondetur ei: 'Quid habes quod non accepisti?' Cum
 ergo fides impetrat justificationem, (sicut unicuique Deus partitus
 est etiam ipsius mensuram fidei,) non gratiam Dei aliquid meriti
 præcedit humani, sed ipsa gratia meretur augeri, ut aucta merea-
 tur perfici, comitante non ducente, pedissequa non prævia volun-
 tate."

Augustinus, Enchirid. cap. 3. "Quæris quonam modo sit colen-
 dus Deus? Hic si respondero, *fide, spe, charitate*, colendum Deum,
 profecto dicturus es, brevius hoc dictum esse quam velis: ac
 deinde petiturus, ea tibi breviter explicari, *quæ ad singula tria ista*
pertineant, quid credendum scilicet, quid sperandum, quid amandum
sit."

Et cap. 8. "Fides est et malarum rerum et bonarum, et perituru-
 rarum et præsentium et futurarum, et suarum rerum et alienarum.
 Spes autem non nisi bonarum rerum est, nec nisi futurarum, et
 ad eum pertinentium qui earum spem gerere perhibetur. Quæ
 cum ita sint, propter has causas *distinguenda erit fides a spe,*
sicut vocabulo, ita et rationabili differentia. Jam de amore quid
 dicam, sine quo fides nihil prodest? Spes vero sine amore esse
 non potest. 'Dæmones credunt et contremiscunt,' nec tamen
 sperant vel amant; propter quod Paulus fidem quæ per dilectionem
 operatur approbat atque commendat, quæ utique sine spe
 esse non potest. Proinde nec amor sine spe est, nec sine amore
 spes, neque utrumque sine fide."

Cyrillus, In Joh. lib. x. cap. 15. "'Sicut palmes non potest ferre
 fructum a semet ipso, nisi manserit in vite: sic nec vos, nisi in
 me manseritis.' Manifestius jam ex hoc loco discimus, *sincera*
fide palmites justos viti fideles fieri. Sed non est minoris curæ,
 jugiter per charitatem, id est, mandati servationem, Christo in-
 hærere. Non igitur sufficit ad perfectionem (id est, ad sanctifica-

^c [This note is added by Cranmer in red ink in the margin.]

tionem, quæ per Christum in spiritu est) *in numero palmitum recipi, sed oportet ardenti charitate atque continuo immaculate Christum sequi.*"

Thomas. Ad Hebr. lecto. 4. "Justitia duplex est. Una, quoad humanum judicium, Rom. x. 'Ignorantes Dei justitiam et suam querentes statuere,' &c. Alia, quoad divinum, Luc. i. 'Erant ambo justi ante Deum.' *Illud autem per quod homo justificatur apud Deum, est fides.* Rom. iii. 'Justitia Dei per fidem Jesus Christi.' *Cujus ratio est: quia per hoc est homo justus, per quod ordinatur ad Deum. Illud autem per quod primo ordinatur in Deum, est fides.* Et ideo dixit, 'Justus meus ex fide vivit.' Nec solum justitia per fidem, sed etiam per fidem justificatus vivit. Sicut enim per animam vivit corpus, ita anima per Deum. Unde, *sicut per illud per quod primo unitur anima corpori, vivit corpus: ita per id quod primo unitur Deus animæ, vivit anima. Hoc autem est fides.* Gal. ii. 'Quantum nunc vivo, in fide vivo Filii Dei.' Fides autem si non est formata charitate, mortua est, et ideo non vivificat animam sine charitate. Gal. v. 'Fides quæ per dilectionem operatur.' 1 Joh. iii. 'Nos scimus quod translati sumus de morte ad vitam, quom diligimus fratres.' "

Hugo de S^{to}. Victore, tom. 3. Summa Sententiarum tract. 1. cap. 2. "De fide tanquam fundamento omnium bonorum spes et charitas oriuntur, quia nihil potest sperari vel speratum amari, nisi prius credatur. *Licet simul sint tempore, et non prius fides quam spes et charitas: tamen in causa fides præcedit spem et charitatem.*"

Ambrosius.^f Rom. x. " 'Finis legis Christus ad salutem omni credenti:' hoc dicit, *quia perfectionem legis habet, qui credit in Christum.* Cum enim nullus justificaretur ex lege (quia nemo implebat legem nisi qui speraret in promisso Christo) *fides posita est, quæ crederet perfectionem legis, ut omnibus pretermisiss fides satisfaceret pro tota lege et prophetis.*"

Thomas. 1 Cor. xiii. "De fide, spe, et charitate dicitur, Ecclus. ii. 'Qui timetis Deum, credite in illum,' *quantum ad fidem.* 'Qui timetis Deum, sperate in illum,' *quantum ad spem.* 'Qui timetis Deum, diligite eum,' *quantum ad charitatem.* Tria ergo ista manent nunc."

Magister Sententiarum, lib. iii. dist. 23.

"Fides est virtus, qua creduntur quæ non videntur."

^f [Hilary the deacon and not Ambrose is supposed to have been the author of this commentary. Cave, *Hist. Liter.*

Dist. 26.

“*Spes est virtus, qua spiritualia et æterna bona sperantur.*”

Dist. 27.

“*Caritas est dilectio, qua diligitur Deus propter se, et proximus propter Deum vel in Deo.*”

Augustinus.

“*Fides est credere quod non vides.*”

Dorbellus lib. iii. dist. 23.

“*Fides acquisita præcedit charitatem, sed fides infusa non infunditur sine charitate.*”

Dist. 26.

“*Respectu actus desiderandi est aliqua virtus theologica. Sed illa non potest esse fides nec charitas. Quia omnis actus fidei est credere, nullum autem desiderare est credere. Et charitas est suprema virtus affectiva, et per consequens supremus amor habitualis. Amor autem amicitiae, quo volumus Deum esse in se bonum, est simpliciter perfectior amore concupiscentiae, quo desideramus Deum esse bonum nostrum. Ergo charitas quæ inclinatur ad amandum Deum amore amicitiae, est alia virtus ab illa, quæ inclinatur ad desiderandum nobis bonum infinitum.*”

Eadem dist.

“*Credere me justum finaliter esse salvandum, non est nisi fides applicata ad quoddam particulare: sed desiderare istud est actus spei. Et sic certitudo sperantis non est actus spei, sed præcedit ipsum.*”

Dist. 27.

“*Ad diligendum Deum super omnia est aliqua virtus theologica inclinans; hæc autem charitas est. Et distinguitur a spe, quod actus ejus non est concupiscere amanti bonum, in quantum est commodum amantis, sed tendere in objectum secundum se, etiam si per impossibile circumscriberetur commoditas amantis.*”

Et mox. “*Licet posset poni amicitia quædam acquisita ex actibus dilectionis divinæ inclinans ad Deum diligendum, tamen actus dilectionis non elicitur ita intensus mediante tali habitu, sicut mediante charitate ab Deo infusa, per quam etiam acceptatur a Deo humana operatio.*”

Dist. 31.

“*Habitus charitatis manebit in patria, quia ibi erit actus ad quem inclinatur, sed diligendi Deum in se.*”

^aAn Homily of the Salvation of Mankind, by only Christ our Saviour, from Sin and Death everlasting.

✓ ^bBecause all men be sinners and offenders against God,

^a [It is necessary to state briefly the grounds on which the three following Homilies, which have often been attributed to Cranmer, are here inserted among his acknowledged works.

Respecting that *Of Salvation*, there is the cotemporary evidence of Bishop Gardiner. In his letters to the Protector Somerset, printed in the first though not in the subsequent editions of Foxe, he repeatedly ascribes it to the Archbishop. "My lord of Canterbury," he says, "hath in the *Homily of Salvation*, taken such a matter in hand, and so handled it, as if I were his extreme enemy, I would have wished him." And again, "As for my lord of Canterbury's *Homily of Salvation*, it hath as many faults as I have been weeks in prison, which be seven." Occasionally indeed he speaks with some hesitation; but few persons will read the whole of the correspondence without being satisfied, that he fully believed this Homily not only to have been sanctioned but written by Cranmer.

The testimony of Bishop Wootten alleged by Mr. Todd, goes farther. It extends also to the two others which are here printed. The passage cited is in his *Christian Manual* published 1576. "What we teach and think of Good Works, those Homilies written in our English tongue of *Salvation, Faith, and Works*, by that light and martyr of Christ's church Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, do plainly testify and declare."

The impression left by these authorities is much strengthened by the similarity of the abovenamed Homilies to the Archbishop's undoubted productions, not only in their *general* tone, but also in *particular* thoughts and expressions. The force of this kind of evidence cannot of course be fully estimated without familiar acquaintance with his other writings; but it may be understood in part by examining some instances of resemblance, which have been noticed as they occur. These are taken chiefly from the *Annotations on the King's Book*, and from the *Notes on Justification* now first printed from the Lambeth Library. On the whole, it is hoped that the reasons for considering Cranmer to have been the author of the three Homilies of *Salvation, Faith, and Good Works*, will be deemed satisfactory.

It is very probable that some others also proceeded from his pen; Dr. Wordsworth conjectures this of the second, *Of the Misery of Mankind*; Mr. Todd of the ninth, *Against the Fear of Death*; and its resemblance to the *Preface to the Bible*, raises a similar presumption respecting the first, *An Exhortation to the Reading of Holy Scripture*. But as none of these have any positive external evidence in their favour, they are not admitted into the present collection. For farther information on the subject see Foxe, first edit. 1563. pp. 742, 745, 803. Todd, *Declarations of Reformers*, Introd. p. xi. and *Life of Cranmer*, vol. II. p. 10. Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 150, 175. *Memorials*, vol. I. p. 346. *Annals*, vol. I. p. 334. Burnet, *Reform.* vol. III. p. 358. Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. III. p. 505.]

[^b The authority followed in printing these Homilies is the first edi-

and breakers of his law and commandments, therefore can no man by his own acts, works, and deeds (seem they never so good) be justified and made righteous before God: but every man of necessity is constrained to seek for another righteousness or justification, to be received at God's own hands, that is to say, the remission, pardon, and forgiveness of his sins and trespasses in such things as he hath offended. And this justification or righteousness, which we so receive by God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full justification.] For the more full understanding hereof, it is our parts and duty ever to remember the great mercy of God, how that (all the world being wrapped in sin by breaking of the law) God sent his only son our saviour Christ into this world, to fulfil the law for us, and by shedding of his most precious blood to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to his Father for our sins, to assuage his wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same.

Insomuch that infants being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children, and inheritors of his kingdom of heaven. And they which actually do sin after their baptism, when they convert and turn again to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins, in such sort, that there remaineth not any spot of sin that shall be imputed to their damnation. This is that justification or righteousness which St. Paul speaketh of, when he saith: *No man is justified by the works of the law, but freely by faith in Jesus Christ.* The efficacy of Christ's passion and oblation. And again he saith: *We believe in Christ Jesu, that we be justified freely* Rom. iii. Gal. ii.

tion by Grafton, 31st July 1547, in which they are not divided into parts. As this division was made only for the convenience of public reading, there seemed to be no reason for retaining it here. The earliest edition in which it appears is that of August 1549. *Pref.* to Oxford edit. 1822.

The references have been revised; and the use of Italics has been regulated according to the principles observed in the rest of the publication. Some alteration also has been made in the paragraphs, to obviate the inconvenience arising from their great length.]

by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law, because that no man shall be justified by the works of the law.

An objection.

And although this justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely to us, that there is no ransom paid therefore at all. But here may man's reason be astonished, reasoning after this fashion: If a ransom be paid for our redemption, then it is not given us freely. For a prisoner that payeth his ransom is not let go freely; for if he go freely, then he goeth without ransom: for what is it else to go freely, than to be set at liberty without payment of ran-

An answer.

som? This reason is satisfied by the great wisdom of God in this mystery of our redemption, who hath so tempered his justice and mercy together, that he would neither by his justice condemn us unto the perpetual captivity of the Devil and his prison of hell remediless for ever without mercy; nor by his mercy deliver us clearly, without justice, or payment of a just ransom: but with his endless mercy he joined his most upright and equal justice. His great mercy he showed unto us in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made upon our parts, which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas it lay not in us that to do, he provided a ransom for us, that was the most precious body and blood of his own most dear and best beloved son Jesu Christ, who, besides his ransom, fulfilled the law for us perfectly. And so the justice of God and his mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the mystery of our redemption. And of this justice and mercy of God knit together, speaketh St. Paul in the third chapter to the Romans: *All have offended, and have need of the glory of God; justified freely by his grace, by redemption which is in Jesu Christ, whom God hath set forth to us for a reconciler and peace-maker, through faith in his blood, to shew his righteousness.* And in the tenth chapter: *Christ is the end of the law, unto righteousness, to every man that believeth.* And in the eighth chapter: *That which was impossible by the law, inasmuch as it was weak by the flesh,*

Rom. iii.

Rom. x.

Rom. viii.

God sending his own son in the similitude of sinful flesh, by sin damned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

In these foresaid places, the Apostle toucheth specially three things, which must concur and go together in our justification. Upon God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, justice, that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or price of our redemption, by the offering of his body and shedding of his blood, with fulfilling of the law perfectly and throughly; and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesu Christ, which yet is not ours, but by God's working in us. So that in our justification, is not only God's mercy and grace, but also his justice, which the apostle calleth the justice of God; and it consisteth in paying our ransom, and fulfilling of the law: and so the grace of God doth not exclude the justice of God in our justification, but only excludeth the justice of man, that is to say, the justice of our works, as to be merits of deserving our justification. And therefore St. Paul declareth here nothing upon the behalf of man concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith, which nevertheless is the gift of God, and not man's only work without God.

And yet that faith doth not exclude repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it excludeth them from the office of justifying. So that although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether. Nor that faith also doth not exclude the justice of our good works, necessarily to be done afterward of duty towards God; (for we are most bounden to serve God, in doing good deeds commanded by him in his holy scripture, all the days of our life;) but it excludeth them, so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made good by doing of them. For all the good works that we can do be unperfect, and therefore not able to deserve our justification: but our justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of

Three things must go together in our justification.

How is it to be understood that faith justifieth without works.

God, and of so great and free mercy, that whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do believe in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacketh, Christ's justice hath supplied.

Before was declared at large, that no man can be justified by his own good works, that no man fulfilleth the law, according to the full request of the law. And St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians proveth the same, saying thus: *If there had been any law given, which could have justified, verily righteousness should have been by the law.* And again he saith: *If righteousness be by the law, then Christ died in vain.* And again he saith: *You that are justified in the law are fallen away from grace.* And furthermore he writeth to the Ephesians on this wise: *By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and not of works, lest any man should glory.* And, to be short, the sum of all Paul's disputation is this; that if justice come of works, then it cometh not of grace; and if it come of grace, then it cometh not of works. And to this end tendeth all the prophets, as St. Peter saith in the tenth of the Acts: *Of Christ all the prophets, saith St. Peter, do witness, that through his name, all they that believe in him shall receive the remission of sins.*

Faith only
justifieth,
is the doc-
trine of old
doctors.

And after this wise to be justified only by this true and lively faith in Christ, speaketh all the old and ancient authors, both Greeks and Latins; of whom I will specially rehearse three, Hilary, Basil, and Ambrose. St. Hilary saith these words plainly in the ninth canon upon

Matthew; "Faith only justifieth." And St. Basil, a Greek author, writeth thus; "cThis is a perfect and an whole "glorying in God, when a man doth not boast himself for "his own justice, but knoweth himself certainly to be un- "worthy of true justice, but to be justified by only faith in "Christ. This is a perfect and a whole rejoicing in God, "when a man advanceth not himself for his own righteous- "ness, but knowledgeth himself to lack true justice and "righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in "Christ." "And Paul," saith he, "doth glory in the con- Philip. iii. "tempt of his own righteousness, and that he looketh for "his righteousness of God by faith."

These be the very words of St. Basil; and St. Ambrose, a Latin author, saith these words; "This is the ordinance "of God, that he which believeth in Christ should be saved "without works, by faith only, freely receiving remission of "his sins." Consider diligently these words, "without "works," "by faith only," "freely we receive remission of "our sins." What can be spoken more plainly, than to say, that freely without works, by faith only, we obtain remission of our sins? These and other like sentences, that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, we do read oftentimes in the most best and ancient writers: as, beside Hilary, Basil, and St. Ambrose, before rehearsed, we read the same in ^dOrigen, St. Chrisostome, St. Cypriane, St. Augustine, Prosper, Œcomenius, Photius, Barnardus, Anselme, and many other authors, Greek and Latin.

Nevertheless, ^ethis sentence, that we be justified by faith only, is not so meant of them, that the said justifying faith ^{Faith alone, how is it to be understand.} is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and the fear of God, at any time or season. Nor when they say, that we be justified freely, they mean not that we should or might afterward be idle, and that nothing

^c [This quotation from Basil will be found in the *Authorities on Justification*, p. 122.]

^d [Extracts from *most* of these authors are in the *Authorities*; and they are *all* named in a list which follows them in the original manuscript.]

^e [See *Notes on Justification*, p. 128, 130, and the *Authorities*, particularly the extracts from Bede, and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, p. 129.]

should be required on our parts afterward. Neither they mean not so to be justified without good works, that we should do no good works at all, like as shall be more expressed at large hereafter. But this proposition, that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being insufficient to deserve our justification at God's hands, and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man, and the goodness of God; the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God; the imperfectness of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our saviour Christ; and therefore wholly for to ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding. This faith the holy scripture teacheth; this is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion; this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's church do approve; this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and suppresseth the vain-glory of man; this whosoever denieth, is not to be reputed for a true Christian man, nor for a setter-forth of Christ's glory; but for an adversary of Christ and his gospel, and for a setter-forth of men's vain-glory.

The profit of the doctrine of faith only justifieth.

What they be that impugn the doctrine of faith only justifieth.

A declaration of this doctrine, faith without works justifieth.

And although this doctrine be never so true, (as it is most true indeed,) that we be justified freely, without all merit of our own good works, (as St. Paul doth express it,) and freely, by this lively and perfect faith in Christ only, (as the ancient authors use to speak it,) yet this true doctrine must be also truly understand, and most plainly declared, lest carnal men should take unjustly occasion thereby to live carnally after the appetite and will of the world, the flesh, and the devil. And because no man should err by mistaking of this true doctrine, I shall plainly and shortly so declare the right understanding of the same, that no man shall justly think that he may thereby take any occasion of carnal liberty to follow the desires of the flesh, or that thereby any kind of sin shall be committed, or any ungodly living the more used.

First, you shall understand, that in our justification by

Christ it is not all one thing, the office of God unto man, and the office of man unto God. Justification is not the office of man, but of God; for man cannot justify himself by his own works, neither in part, nor in the whole; for that were the greatest arrogancy and presumption of man that Antichrist could erect against God, to affirm that a man might by his own works take away and purge his own sins, and so justify himself. But justification is the office of God only, and is not a thing which we render unto him, but which we receive of him; not which we give to him, but which we take of him, by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly beloved son, our only redeemer, saviour, and justifier, Jesus Christ. So that the true understanding of this doctrine, we be justified freely by faith without works, or that we be justified by faith in Christ only, is not, that this our own act to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth justify us, and merit our justification unto us; (for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue that is within ourselves;) but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, dread, and fear of God within us, and do never so many good works thereunto; yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and insufficient and unperfect, to deserve remission of our sins, and our justification; and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and in that sacrifice which our high-priest and saviour Christ Jesus, the son of God, once offered for us upon the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent, and convert un-

^f ["Although all that be justified must of necessity have charity as well as faith, yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness and merits of our justification, but that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ, which was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification." *Notes on Justification*, p. 130.]

John i.

feignedly to him again. So that, as St. John Baptist, although he were never so virtuous and godly a man, yet in this matter of forgiving of sin, he did put the people from him, and appointed them unto Christ, saying thus unto them, *Behold, yonder is the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world*; even so, as great and as godly a virtue as the lively faith is, yet it putteth us from itself, and remitteth or appointeth us unto Christ, for to have only by him remission of our sins, or justification. So that our faith in Christ (as it were) saith unto us thus: It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only; and to him only I send you for that purpose, renouncing therein all your good virtues, words, thoughts, and works, and only putting your trust in Christ.

Thus you do see that the very true sense of this proposition, We be justified by faith in Christ only (according to the meaning of the old ancient authors) is this: We put our faith in Christ, that we be justified by him only, that we be justified by God's free mercy, and the merits of our Saviour Christ only, and by no virtue or good work of our own that is in us, or that we can be able to have or to do, for to deserve the same; Christ himself only being the cause meritorious thereof.

Here you perceive many words to be used to avoid contention in words with them that delighteth to brawl about words, and also to shew the true meaning to avoid evil taking and misunderstanding; and yet peradventure all will not serve with them that be contentious; but contenders will ever forge matter of contention, even when they have none occasion thereto. Notwithstanding, such be the less to be passed upon, so that the rest may profit, which will be more desirous to know the truth, than (when it is plain enough) to contend about it, and with contentions and captious cavillations to obscure and darken it.

Truth it is, that our own works doth not justify us, to speak properly of our justification; that is to say, our works do not merit or deserve remission of our sins, and make us, of unjust, just before God: but God of his mere mercy, through the

only merits or deserving of his son Jesus Christ, doth justify us. § Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ for remission of our sins, and that by faith given us of God we embrace the promise of God's mercy and of the remission of our sins, (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth,) therefore the Scripture useth to say, that faith without works doth justify. And forasmuch that it is all one sentence in effect, to say, faith without works, and only faith, doth justify us; therefore the ^hold ancient fathers of the church from time to time have uttered our justification with this speech; Only faith justifieth us: meaning none other thing than St. Paul meant, when he said, Faith without works justifieth us. And because all this is brought to pass through the only merits and deserving of our saviour Christ, and not through our merits, or through the merit of any virtue that we have within us, or of any work that cometh from us; therefore, in that respect of merit and deserving, we renounce, as it were, altogether again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of original sin, that all is imperfect that is within us, faith, charity, hope, dread, thoughts, words, and works, and therefore not apt to merit and deserve any part of our justification for us. And this form of speaking we use, in the humbling of ourselves to God, and to give all the glory to our saviour Christ, which is best worthy to have it.

Here you have heard the office of God in our justification, and how we receive it of him freely, by his mercy, without our deserts, through true and lively faith. Now you shall hear the office and duty of a Christian man unto God, what we ought on our part to render unto God again for his great mercy and goodness. Our office is, not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, after that we are baptized or justified, not caring how few good works we do, to the glory of God, and profit of our neigh-

They that preach faith only justifieth, do not teach carnal liberty, or that we should do no good works.

§ ["Yet nevertheless, because by faith we know God's mercy and grace," &c. *Notes on Justification*, p. 130.]

^h [See extracts from them among the *Authorities*.]

bours: much less it is our office, after that we be once made Christ's members, to live contrary to the same; making ourselves members of the Devil, walking after his enticements, and after the suggestions of the world and the flesh, whereby we know that we do serve the world and the Devil, and not God. For that faithⁱ which bringeth forth (without repentance) either evil works, or no good works, is not a right, pure, and lively faith, but a dead, devilish, counterfeit, and feigned faith, as St. Paul and St. James call it. ^k For even the devils know and believe that Christ was born of a virgin; that he fasted forty days and forty nights without meat and drink; that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself very God: they believe also, that Christ for our sakes suffered most painful death, to redeem us from eternal death, and that he rose again from death the third day: they believe that he ascended into heaven, and that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and at the last end of this world shall come again, and judge both the quick and the dead. These articles of our faith the devils believe, and so they believe all things that be written in the New and Old Testament to be true: and yet for all this faith they be but devils, remaining still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true Christian faith.

The devils have faith, but not the true faith.

What is the true and justifying faith.

For the right and true Christian faith is, not only to believe that holy Scripture, and all the foresaid articles of our faith are true; but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ: whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments. And this true

ⁱ ["This is the very right, pure, perfect, lively, Christian, hearty, and "justifying faith, which worketh by love, love, as St. Paul saith. As for "the other feigned, pretended, hypocritical and adulterate faith in the "mouth, it is but only a painted visor before men; but before God it "is hollow within, dead, rotten, and nothing worth." *Annot. on the King's Book*, p. 70. See also the extract from Augustine in the *Authorities on Justification* p. 135.]

^k ["This is not the commendation of a Christian man's faith, but a "most certain proposition, which also the devils believe," &c. *Ibid.* p. 66.]

Christian faith neither any devil hath, nor yet any man, which in the outward profession of his mouth, and in his outward receiving of the sacraments, in coming to the church, and in all other outward appearances, seemeth to be a Christian man, and yet in his living and deeds show-
 eth the contrary. For¹ how can a man have this true faith, this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins be remitted, and he reconciled to the favour of God, and to be partaker of the kingdom of heaven by Christ, when he liveth ungodly, and denieth Christ in his deeds? Surely no such ungodly man can have this faith and trust in God. For as they know Christ to be the only saviour of the world; so they know also that wicked men shall not possess the kingdom of God. They They that continue in evil living have not true faith. *Psal. v.* know that God *hateth unrighteousness*; that he will *destroy all those that speak untruly*; that those that have done good works (which cannot be done without a lively John v. faith in Christ) *shall come forth into the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil shall come unto resurrection of judgment.* Rom. ii. And very well they know also, that *to them that be contentious, and to them that will not be obedient unto the truth, but will obey unrighteousness, shall come indignation, wrath, and affliction, &c.*

Therefore, to conclude, considering the infinite benefits of God, showed and exhibited unto us mercifully without our deserts, who hath not only created us of nothing, and from a piece of vile clay of his infinite goodness hath exalted us, as touching our soul, unto his own similitude and likeness; but also, whereas we were condemned to hell and death eternal, hath given his own natural son, being God eternal, immortal, and equal unto himself in power and glory, to be incarnated, and to take our mortal nature upon him, with the infirmities of the same, and in the same nature to suffer most shameful and painful death for our offences, to the intent to justify us, and to restore us to life everlasting: so making us also his dear beloved children, brethren unto his only son our

¹ ["How can the son persuade with himself," &c. *Annotations* p. 69. Again, "No man surely can have the right faith." &c. *Ibid.*]

saviour Christ, and inheritors for ever with him of his eternal kingdom of heaven : ^mThese great and merciful benefits of God, if they be well considered, do neither minister unto us occasion to be idle, and to live without doing any good works, neither yet stirreth us by any means to do evil things ; but contrariwise, if we be not desperate persons, and our hearts harder than stones, they move us to render ourselves unto God wholly, with all our will, hearts, might, and power, to serve him in all good deeds, obeying his commandments during our lives, to seek in all things his glory and honour, not our sensual pleasures and vain-glory ; evermore dreading willingly to offend such a merciful God, and loving Redeemer, in word, thought, or deed. And the said benefits of God, deeply considered, do move us for his sake also to be ever ready to give ourselves to our neighbours, and, as much as lieth in us, to study with all our endeavour to do good to every man. These be the fruits of the true faith, to do good as much as lieth in us to every man, and, above all things, and in all things, to advance the glory of God, of whom only we have our sanctification, justification, salvation, and redemption : to whom be ever glory, praise, and honour, world without end. Amen.

^m [“ These benefits of God——whosoever expendeth,” &c. *Annotations*, &c. p. 95. Again, “ If the profession of our faith,” &c. *Ibid.* p. 70.]

*A short Declaration of the True, Lively, and
Christian Faith.*

The first entry unto God, good Christian people, is through faith, whereby (as it is declared in the last sermon) ^{Faith.} we be justified before God. And lest any man should be deceived for lack of right understanding hereof, it is diligently to be noted^a, that faith is taken in the Scripture two manner of ways. There is one faith, which in Scripture is called a dead faith, which bringeth forth no good works, ^{A dead faith.} but is idle, barren, and unfruitful. And this faith, by the holy apostle St. James, is compared to the faith of devils, which believe God to be true and just, and tremble for ^{James ii.} fear; yet they do nothing well, but all evil. And such a manner of faith have the wicked and naughty Christian people, *which confess God*, as St. Paul saith, *in their mouth*, but *deny him in their deeds, being abominable, and with-* ^{Titus i.} *out the right faith, and in all good works reprobable.* And this faith is a persuasion and belief in man's heart, whereby he knoweth that there is a God, and assenteth unto all truth of God's most holy word, contained in holy Scripture. So that it consisteth only in believing of the word of God, that it is true. And this is not properly called faith. But as he that readeth Cæsar's Commentaries, believing the same to be true, hath thereby a knowledge of Cæsar's life and noble acts, because he believeth the history of Cæsar: yet it is not properly said, that he believeth in Cæsar, of whom he looketh for no help nor benefit. Even so, he that believeth that all that is spoken of God in the Bible is

^a ["For the more large declaration of the pure Christian faith it is to be considered that there is a general faith, which all that be Christian as well good as evil have," &c. *Annot. on the King's Book* p. 67.] See also above p. 148.

The distinction seems to have been taken from the passage of Augustine cited in the *Authorities on Justification* p. 135. "Fides est et malarum rerum et bonarum—de amore quid dicam, sine quo fides nihil prodest?—Dæmones credunt et contremiscunt."]

true, and yet liveth so ungodly, that he cannot look to enjoy the promises and benefits of God; although it may be said, that such a man hath a faith and belief to the words of God; yet it is not properly said that he believeth in God, or hath such a faith and trust in God, whereby he may surely look for grace, mercy, and eternal life at God's hand, but rather for indignation and punishment, according to the merits of his wicked life. For as it is written in a book, intituled to be of Didymus Alexandrinus, "Forasmuch as faith without works is dead, it is not now "faith, as a dead^b man is not a man." This dead faith therefore is not that sure and substantial faith which saveth sinners.

A lively
faith.

^cAnother faith there is in scripture, which is not, as the foresaid faith, idle, unfruitful, and dead, but *worketh by charity*, (as St. Paul declareth, Gal. v.) which as the other vain faith is called a dead faith, so may this be called a quick or lively faith. And this is not only the common belief of the articles of our faith, ^dbut it is also a sure trust and confidence of the mercy of God through our lord Jesus Christ, and a steadfast hope of all good things to be received at God's hand: and that although we, through infirmity, or temptation of our ghostly enemy, do fall from him by sin; yet if we return again unto him by true repentance, that he will forgive and forget our offences for his son's sake, our saviour Jesus Christ, and will make us inheritors with him of his everlasting kingdom; and that in the mean time, until that kingdom come, he will be our protector and defender in all perils and dangers, whatsoever do chance: and that ^ethough sometime he do send us sharp adversity, yet that evermore he will be a loving father unto us, correcting us for our sin, but not withdrawing

^b ["As the body is but dead that lacketh a soul," &c. *Annot. on the King's Book*, p. 69.]

^c ["This book speaketh of the pure Christian faith unfeigned," &c. *Annot. on the King's Book*, p. 66.]

^d ["This is the very pure Christian faith," &c. *Ibid.* p. 66.]

^e ["So ought we to take all sickness and adversity—as the rod of "Almighty God" &c. *Ibid.* p. 72.]

his mercy finally from us, if we trust in him, and commit ourselves wholly to him, hang only upon him, and call upon him, ready to obey and serve him. This is the true, lively, and unfeigned Christian faith, and is not in the mouth and outward profession only, but it liveth, and stirreth inwardly in the heart. And this faith is not without hope and trust in God, nor without the love of God and of our neighbours, nor without the fear of God, nor without the desire to hear God's word, and to follow the same in eschewing evil, and doing gladly all good works.

This faith, as St. Paul describeth it, is the *sure ground* Heb. xi. *and foundation of the benefits which we ought to look for, and trust to receive of God, a certificate and sure expectation of them, although they yet sensibly appear not unto us.* And after he saith, *He that cometh to God, must believe,* Heb. xi. *both that he is, and that he is a merciful rewarder of well-doers.* And nothing commendeth good men unto God so much as this assured faith and trust in him. Of this faith three things are specially to be noted.

First, that this faith doth not lie dead in the heart, but is lively and fruitful in bringing forth good works. Second, that without it can no good works be done, that shall be acceptable and pleasant to God. Third, what manner of good works they be that this faith doth bring forth.

For the first, as the light cannot be hid, but will shew forth itself at one place or other; so a true faith cannot be kept secret; but when occasion is offered, it will break out, and shew itself by good works. And as the living body of a man ever exerciseth such things as belongeth to a natural and living body, for nourishment and preservation of the same, as it hath need, opportunity, and occasion; even so the soul that hath a lively faith in it will be doing alway some good work, which shall declare that it is living, and will not be unoccupied. Therefore, when men hear in the Scriptures so high commendations of faith, that it maketh us to please God, to live with God, and to be the children of God; if

Three things are to be noted of faith.

Faith is full of good works.

^f ["It must needs kindle a warm fire of love in our hearts towards " God and towards all others," &c. *Ibid.* p. 70.]

then they phantasy that they be set at liberty from doing all good works, and may live as they list, they trifle with God, and deceive themselves. And it is a manifest token that they be far from having the true and lively faith, and also far from knowledge what true faith meaneth. For the very sure and lively Christian faith is, not only to believe all things of God which are contained in holy Scripture, but also is an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he doth regard us, and hath cure of us, ^{as} the father of the child whom he doth love, and that he will be merciful unto us for his only son's sake, and that we have our saviour Christ our perpetual advocate and priest, in whose only merits, oblation, and suffering, we do trust that our offences be continually washed and purged, whensoever we, repenting truly, do return to him with our whole heart, steadfastly determining with ourselves, through his grace, to obey and serve him in keeping his commandments, and never to turn back again to sin. Such is the true faith that the Scripture doth so much commend, the which, when it seeth and considereth what God hath done for us, is also moved, through continual assistance of the Spirit of God, to serve and please him, to keep his favour, to fear his displeasure, to continue his obedient children, showing thankfulness again by observing his commandments, and that freely, for true love chiefly, and not for dread of punishment, or love of temporal reward, considering how clearly, without our deservings, we have received his mercy and pardon freely.

This true faith will shew forth itself, and cannot long be idle: for as it is written, *The just man doth live by his faith.* He neither sleepeth, nor is idle, when he should wake and be well occupied. And God by his prophet Jeremy saith, that *he is a happy and blessed man, which hath faith and confidence in God. For he is like a tree set by the water-side, that spreadeth his roots abroad toward the moisture, and feareth not heat when it cometh; his leaf*

§ [See the same illustration in *Annotations on the King's Book* p. 69.]

will be green, and will not cease to bring forth his fruit : even so, faithful men, putting away all fear of adversity, will shew forth the fruit of their good works, as occasion is offered to do them.

The wise man saith, *He that believeth in God will* Ecclus. xxxii. *hearken unto his commandments.* For if we do not shew ourselves faithful in our conversation, the faith which we pretend to have is but a feigned faith : because the true Christian faith is manifestly showed by good living, and not by ^h words only, as St. Augustin saith, “ Good living “ cannot be separated from true faith, which worketh by “ loveⁱ.” And St. Chrysostom saith, “ Faith of itself is full “ of good works : as soon as a man doth believe, he shall “ be garnished with them^k.”

How plentiful this faith is of good works, and how it maketh the work of one man more acceptable to God than of another, St. Paul teacheth at large in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, saying, that faith made the ob- Heb. xi. lation of Abel better than the oblation of Cain. This Gen. iv. made Noe to build the ark. This made Abraham to Gen. vi. forsake his country, and all his friends, and to go into Ecclus. xlii. a far country, there to dwell among strangers. So did Gen. xi. also Isaac and Jacob, depending only of the help and trust that they had in God. And when they came to the country which God promised them, they would build no cities, towns, nor houses ; but lived like strangers in tents that might every day be removed. Their trust was so much in God, that they set but little by any worldly thing, for that God had prepared for them better dwelling-places in heaven, of his own foundation and building. This Gen. xxii. faith made Abraham ready at God’s commandment to offer Ecclus. xlii. his own son and heir Isaac, whom he loved so well, and by xlii. whom he was promised to have innumerable issue, among the which one should be born, in whom all nations should be blessed ; trusting so much in God, that though he were

^h [“ Examine every man if he trust in God—and in words he will “ answer yea,” &c. *Annot. on the King’s Book* p. 69.]

ⁱ *Libro de Fide et Operibus*, c. 2.

^k *Serm. de Fide, Lege, et Spiritu Sancto*. [This sermon is considered spurious by later editors.]

Exod. ii.
Heb. xi.

Exod. xiv.
Josh. vi.
Heb. xi.

Dan. vi.

Dan. iii.
Heb. xi.

slain, yet that God was able by his omnipotent power to raise him from death, and perform his promise. He mistrusted not the promise of God, although unto his reason every thing seemed contrary. He believed verily that God would not forsake him in dearth and famine that was in the country. And in all other dangers that he was brought unto, he trusted ever that God would be his God and his protector, whatsoever he saw to the contrary. This faith wrought so in the heart of Moses, that he refused to be taken for king Pharaoh his daughter's son, and to have great inheritance in Egypt, thinking it better with the people of God to have affliction and sorrow, than with naughty men in sin to live pleasantly for a time. By faith he cared not for the threatening of king Pharaoh: for his trust was so in God, that he passed not of the felicity of this world, but looked for the reward to come in heaven; setting his heart upon the invisible God, as if he had seen him ever present before his eyes. By faith the children of Israel passed through the red sea. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down without stroke, and many other wonderful miracles have been wrought. In all good men that heretofore have been, faith hath brought forth their good works, and obtained the promises of God. Faith hath stopped the lions' mouths: faith hath quenched the force of fire: faith hath escaped the sword's edges: faith hath given weak men strength, victory in battle, overthrown the armies of infidels, raised the dead to life: faith hath made good men to take adversity in good part; some have been mocked and whipped, bound and cast in prison; some have lost all their goods, and lived in great poverty; some have wandered in mountains, hills, and wilderness; some have been racked, some slain, some stoned, some sawn, some rent in pieces, some headed, some brent without mercy, and would not be delivered, because they looked to rise again to a better state.

All these fathers, martyrs, and other holy men, whom St. Paul spake of, had their faith surely fixed in God, when all the world was against them. They did not only know God to be lord, maker, and governor of all men in the

world ; but also they had a special confidence and trust, that he was and would be their God, their comforter, aider, helper, maintainer, and defender. This is the Christian faith, which these holy men had, and we also ought to have. And although they were not named Christian men, yet was it a Christian faith that they had ; for they looked for all benefits of God the father, through the merits of his son Jesu Christ, as we now do. This difference is between them and us, for they looked when Christ should come, and we be in the time when he is come. Therefore, saith St. Austen¹, “ The time is altered, but not the faith.” For we have both one faith in one Christ. The same Holy ² Cor. iv. Ghost also that we have, had they, saith St. Paul. For as the Holy Ghost doth teach us to trust in God, and to call upon him as our father, so did he teach them to say, as it is written : *Thou, Lord, art our father and redeemer ; and thy* Isa. lxiii. *name is without beginning, and everlasting.* God gave them then grace to be his children, as he doth us now. But now, by the coming of our saviour Christ we have received more abundantly the Spirit of God in our hearts, whereby we may conceive a greater faith, and a surer trust, than many of them had. But in effect they and we be all one : we have the same faith that they had in God, and they the same that we have. And St. Paul so much extolleth their faith, because we should no less, but rather more, give ourselves wholly unto Christ both in profession and living now when Christ is come, than the old fathers did before his coming. And by all the declaration of St. Paul it is evident, that the true, lively, and Christian faith is no dead, vain, or unfruitful thing, but a thing of perfect virtue, of wonderful operation and strength, bringing forth all good motions and good works.

All holy Scripture agreeably beareth witness, that a true^m lively faith in Christ doth bring forth good works ; and therefore every man must examine himself diligently, to know whether he have the same true lively faith in his

¹ In Johan. Tract. 45. [See also *De Natura et Gratia*, §. 51.]

^m [See fourth *Annotation on the King's Book.*]

- heart unfeignedly, or not; which he shall know by the fruits thereof. Many that professed the faith of Christ were in this error, that they thought they knew God and believed in him, when in their life they declared the contrary: which error St. John in his first Epistle confuting,
- 1 John ii. writeth in this wise: *Hereby we are certified that we know God, if we observe his commandments. He that saith he knoweth God, and observeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* And again he saith:
- 1 John iii. *Whosoever sinneth doth not see God, nor know him: Let no man deceive you, well-beloved children.* And moreover he saith: *Hereby we know that we be of the truth, and so*
- 1 John iii. *we shall persuade our hearts before him. For if our own hearts reprove us, God is above our hearts, and knoweth all things. Well-beloved, if our hearts reprove us not, then have we confidence in God, and shall have of him whatsoever we ask, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that please him.* And yet further he saith:
- 1 John v. *Every man that believeth that Jesus is Christ, is born of God; and we know that whosoever is born of God doth not sin: But the generation of God purgeth him, and the devil doth not touch him.* And finally he concludeth, and shewing the cause why he wrote this Epistle, saith:
- 1 John v. *For this cause have I thus written unto you, that you may know that you have everlasting life, which do believe in the son of God.* And in his third Epistle he confirmeth the whole matter of faith and works in few words, saying: *He that doth well is of God, and he that doth evil knoweth not God.*

- And as St. John saith, that the lively knowledge and faith of God bringeth forth good works; so saith he likewise of hope and charity, that they cannot stand with evil
- 1 John iii. living. Of hope he writeth thus: *We know that when God shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for we shall see him even as he is: And whosoever hath this hope in him doth purify himself, like as God is pure.* And of charity he saith these words: *He that doth keep God's word or commandment, in him is truly the perfect love of God.*
- 1 John ii.

And again he saith: *This is the love of God, that we should* John v.
keep his commandments. And St. John wrote not this as a
subtle proposition devised of his own phantasy, but as a
most certain and necessary truth, taught unto him by Christ
himself, the eternal and infallible verity, who in many
places doth most clearly affirm, that faith, hope, and cha-
rity, cannot consist without good and godly works. Of
faith he saith: *He that believeth in the son hath everlasting* John v.
life; but he that believeth not in the son shall not see that John iii.
life, but the wrath of God remaineth upon him. And the
same he confirmeth with a double oath, saying: *Forsooth and* John vi.
forsooth, I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath ever-
lasting life. Now forasmuch as he that believeth in Christ
hath everlasting life, it must needs consequently follow,
that he that hath this faith must have also good works, and
be studious to observe God's commandments obediently.
For to them that have evil works, and lead their life in
disobedience and transgression of God's commandments
without repentance, pertaineth not everlasting life, but
everlasting death, as Christ himself saith: *They that do* Matt. xxv.
well shall go into life eternal; but they that do evil shall
go into the eternal fire. Again he saith: *I am the first* Apoc. xxi.
letter and the last, the beginning and the ending: To
him that is athirst, I will give of the well of the water
of life freely: He that hath the victory shall have all
things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son:
but they that be fearful, mistrusting God, and lacking faith,
they that be cursed people, and murderers, and fornicators,
and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their
portion in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone,
which is the second death. And as Christ undoubtedly
affirmeth, that true faith bringeth forth good works, so
doth he say likewise of charity: *Whosoever hath my com-*
mandments, and keepeth them, that is he that loveth me.
And after he saith: *He that loveth me, will keep my word,*
and he that loveth me not, keepeth not my words. And
as the love of God is tried by good works, so is the fear

Charity
bringeth
forth good
works.
John xiv.

Ecclus. i. of God also, as the wise man saith: *The dread of God putteth away sin.* And also he saith: *He that feareth God will do good works.*

ⁿA man may soon deceive himself, and think in his own phantasy that he by faith knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, and belongeth to him, when in very deed he doth nothing less. For the trial of all these things is a very godly and Christian life. He that feeleth his heart set to seek God's honour, and studieth to know the will and commandments of God, and to conform himself thereunto, and leadeth not his life after the desire of his own flesh to serve the devil by sin, but setteth his mind to serve God for God's own sake, and for his sake also to love all his neighbours, whether they be friends or adversaries, doing good to every man, as opportunity serveth, and willingly hurting no man: such a man may well rejoice in God, perceiving by the trade of his life, that he unfeignedly hath the right knowledge of God, a lively faith, a constant hope, a true and unfeigned love and fear of God. But he that casteth away the yoke of God's commandments from his neck, and giveth himself to live without true repentance, after his own sensual mind and pleasure, not regarding to know God's word, and much less to live according thereunto; such a man clearly deceiveth himself, and seeth not his own heart, if he thinketh that he either knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, or trusteth in him. Some peradventure phantasy in themselves that they belong to God, although they live in sin, and so they come to the church, and shew themselves as God's dear children.

1 John i. But St. John saith plainly: *If we say that we have any company with God, and walk in darkness, we do lie.* Other do vainly think that they know and love God, although they pass not of his commandments. But St. John
1 John ii. saith clearly: *He that saith, I know God, and keepeth not his commandments, he is a liar.* Some falsely persuade

ⁿ ["If they persuade themselves that they trust in God—then be "they much deceived," &c. *Annot. on the King's Book* p. 68.]

themselves, that they love God, when they hate their neighbours. But St. John saith manifestly: *If any man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar.* 1 John iv. *He that saith that he is in the light, and hateth his brother, he is still in darkness.* 1 John ii. *He that loveth his brother dwelleth in the light; but he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth: for darkness hath blinded his eyes.* And moreover he saith: *Hereby we manifestly know the children of God from the children of the devil.* 1 John iii. *He that doth not righteously is not the child of God, nor he that hateth his brother.*

Deceive not yourselves therefore, thinking that you have faith in God, or that you love God, or do trust in him, or do fear him, when you live in sin: for then your ungodly and sinful life declareth the contrary, ° whatsoever ye say or think. It pertaineth to a Christian man to have this true Christian faith, and to try himself whether he hath it or no, and to know what belongeth to it, and how it doth work in him. It is not the world that we can trust to; the world, and all that is therein, is but vanity. It is God that must be our defence and protection against all temptation of wickedness and sin, errors, superstition, idolatry, and all evil. If all the world were on our side, and God against us, what could the world avail us? Therefore let us set our whole faith and trust in God, and neither the world, the devil, nor all the power of them shall prevail against us. Let us therefore, good Christian people, try and examine our faith, what it is: let us not flatter ourselves, but look upon our works, and so judge of our faith what it is. Christ himself speaketh of this matter, and saith, *The tree is known by the fruit.* Luke vi. Therefore let us do good works, and thereby declare our faith to be the lively Christian faith. Let us, by such virtues as ought to spring out of faith, show our election to be sure and stable, as St. Peter teacheth, *En-2 Pet. i.* *deavour yourselves to make your calling and election certain by good works.* And also he saith, *Minister or de-2 Pet. i.*

° ["Many pretend to have the said pure faith," &c. *Annotations on the King's Book*, p. 67.]

clare in your faith virtue, in virtue knowledge, in knowledge temperance, in temperance patience, again in patience godliness, in godliness brotherly charity, in brotherly charity love. So shall we shew indeed that we have the very lively Christian faith, and may so both certify our conscience the better that we be in the right faith, and also by these means confirm other men.

If these fruits do not follow, we do but mock with God, deceive ourselves, and also other men. Well may we bear the name of Christian men, but we do lack the true faith that doth belong thereunto: for true faith doth ever bring forth good works, as St. James saith: *Shew me thy faith by thy deeds.* Thy deeds and works must be an open testimonial of thy faith: otherwise thy faith, being without good works, is but the devil's faith, the faith of the wicked, a phantasy of faith, and not a true Christian faith. And like as the devils and evil people be nothing the better for their counterfeit faith, but it is unto them the more cause of damnation: so they that be christened, and have received knowledge of God, and of Christ's merits, and yet of a set purpose do live idly, without good works, thinking the name of a naked faith to be either sufficient for them, or else setting their minds upon vain pleasures of this world, do live in sin without repentance, not uttering the fruits that do belong to such an high profession; upon such presumptuous persons, and wilful sinners, must needs remain the great vengeance of God, and eternal punishment in hell, prepared for the devil and wicked liver.

Therefore as you profess the name of Christ, good Christian people, let no such phantasy and imagination of faith at any time beguile you; but be sure of your faith, try it by your living, look upon the fruits that cometh of it, mark the increase of love and charity by it toward God and your neighbour, and so shall you perceive it to be a true lively faith. If you feel and perceive

such a faith in you, rejoice in it ; and be diligent to maintain it, and keep it still in you ; let it be daily ⁹increasing, and more and more be well working, and so shall you be sure that you shall please God by this faith ; and at the length, as other faithful men have done before, so shall ye, when his will is, come to him, and receive *the end and final reward of your faith*, as St. Peter nameth it, *the sal- 1 Pet. i.*
vation of your souls : the which God grant us, that hath promised the same unto his faithful ; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

⁹ [“ St. James spake of such a justification which is a declaration, con-
 “ nuation, and *increase* of that justification which St. Paul spake of be-
 “ fore.” *Notes on Justification*, p. 128. See also *the Authorities* under
 that head.]

*An Homily or Sermon of Good Works annexed
unto Faith.*

In the last sermon was declared unto you, what the lively and true faith of a Christian man is; that it causeth not a man to be idle, but to be occupied in bringing forth good works, as occasion serveth.

No good
work can
be done
without
faith.
John xv.

Now, by God's grace, shall be declared the second thing that before was noted of faith; that without it can no good work be done, acceptable and pleasant unto God; *For as a branch cannot bear fruit of itself*, saith our saviour Christ, *except it abide in the vine; so cannot you, except you abide in me. I am the vine, and you be the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit: for without me you can do nothing.* And St. Paul proveth,

Heb. xi.

that Enoch had faith, because he pleased God: *For without faith*, saith he, *it is not possible to please God.* And

Rom. xiv.

again, to the Romans he saith: *Whatsoever work is done without faith, it is sin.* Faith giveth life to the soul; and they be as much dead to God that lack faith, as they be to the world whose bodies lack souls. Without faith, all that is done of us is but dead before God, although the work seem never so gay and glorious before man. Even as a picture graven or painted is but a dead representation of the thing itself, and is without life, or any manner of moving; so be the works of all unfaithful persons before God: they do appear to be lively works, and indeed they be but dead, not availing to the eternal life: they be but shadows and shows of lively and good things, and not good and lively things indeed: for true faith doth give life to the work, and out of such faith come good works, that be very good works indeed; and without it no work is good before God.

As saith St. Augustin: “^b We must set no good works

^b [In *Paul. xxxi. Enarrat. II. §. 4.*]

“before faith, nor think that before faith a man may do
 “any good work; for such works, although they seem unto
 “men to be praiseworthy, yet indeed they be but vain, and
 “not allowed before God. They be as the course of a horse
 “that runneth out of the way, which taketh great labour,
 “but to no purpose. Let no man, therefore,” saith he,
 “reckon upon his good works before his faith; whereas
 “faith was not, good works were not. The intent,” saith he,
 “maketh good works; but faith must guide and order the
 “intent of man.” And Christ saith, *If thine eye be naught*, *Matt. vi.*
thy whole body is full of darkness. “The eye doth signify
 “the intent,” saith St. Augustin^c, “wherewith a man doth a
 “thing: so that he which doth not his good works with a
 “godly intent, and a true faith that worketh by love, the
 “whole body beside, that is to say, all the whole number
 “of his works, is dark, and there is no light in it.” For^d
 good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and
 so dissevered from vices; but by the ends and intents,
 for the which they be done. If a heathen man clothe
 the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works;
 yet, because he doth them not in faith for the honour and
 love of God, they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to
 him. Faith it is that doth commend the work to God:
 “for,” as St. Augustin^c saith, “whether thou wilt or no, that
 “work that cometh not of faith, is naught;” where the
 faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no good work,
 what building soever we make. “‘There is one work, in
 “the which be all good works, that is, faith which worketh
 “by charity:” if thou have it, thou hast the ground of all

^c [*De Sermone Dom. in monte*, lib. ii. §. 45. et *Contra Julian. Pelag.* lib. iv. §. 33.]

^d [“Noveris itaque non officiis sed finibus a vitiis discernendas esse virtutes.” *August. Contr. Julianum Pelag.* lib. iv. §. 21. where also is to be found in substance, and often in expression, most of what follows. The same work is quoted in the *Authorities*, p. 132.]

“Sunt opera quæ videntur bona sine fide Christi; et non sunt bona, quia non referuntur ad eum finem ex quo sunt bona: *Finis enim legis Christus ad justitiam omni credenti.*” *Aug. In Joan. Tract. xxv.* ed. Ben. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 489.]

^e [*Contra Julianum Pelag.* lib. iv. §. 32.]

^f [*August. in Ps. xc.* Ben. ed. tom iv. p. 961.]

good works ; for the virtues of strength, wisdom, temperance, and justice, be all referred unto this same faith. Without this faith we have not them, but only the names and shadows of them ; as St. Augustin^g saith: “ All the life
 “ of them that lack the true faith is sin, and nothing is
 “ good without him that is the author of goodness: where
 “ he is not, there is but feigned virtue, although it be in
 “ the best works.” And St. Augustin^h, declaring this verse of the Psalm, *The turtle hath found a nest where she may keep her young birds*, saith, that Jews, heretics, and pagans do good works ; they clothe the naked, feed the poor, and do other good works of mercy : but because they be not done in the true faith, therefore the birds be lost. But if they remain in faith, then faith is the nest and safeguard of their birds, that is to say, safeguard of their good works, that the reward of them be not utterly lost.

And this matter (which St. Augustin at large in many books disputeth) St. Ambrose concludeth in few words, saying,
 “ ⁱHe that by nature would withstand vice, either by natural
 “ will or reason, he doth in vain garnish the time of this
 “ life, and attaineth not the very true virtues ; for without
 “ the worshipping of the true God, that which seemeth to
 “ be virtue is vice.”

And yet most plainly to this purpose writeth St. John Chrisostome in this wise, “ ^kYou shall find many which have
 “ not the true faith, and be not of the flock of Christ,
 “ and yet, as it appeareth, they flourish in good works
 “ of mercy ; you shall find them full of pity, compassion,
 “ and given to justice ; and yet, for all that, they have
 “ no fruit of their works, because the chief work lack-
 “ eth. For when the Jews asked of Christ, what they
 “ should do to work good works, he answered, *This is the*
 “ *work of God, to believe in him whom he sent* : so that he
 “ called faith the work of God. And as soon as a man

John vi.

^g [Prosper, *Lib. sentent. ex August. cvi.*]

^h [In Psalm. lxxxiii. *Enarrat.* §. 7.]

ⁱ *De vocatione gentium* lib. i. c. 3.

^k In *Sermone de fide, lege, et Spiritu Sancto*, ad init. [See p. 155.]

“hath faith, anon he shall flourish in good works; for faith of itself is full of good works, and nothing is good without faith.” And for a similitude, he saith, that “they which glisten and shine in good works without faith in God, be like dead men, which have goodly and precious tombs, and yet it availeth them nothing. Faith may not be naked without works, for then it is no true faith: and when it is adjoined to works, yet it is above the works. For as men, that be very men indeed, first have life, and after be nourished; so must our faith in Christ go before, and after be nourished with good works. And life may be without nourishment, but nourishment cannot be without life. A man must needs be nourished by good works, but first he must have faith. He that doth good deeds, yet without faith, he hath not life. I can show a man that by faith without works lived, and came to heaven: but without faith never man had life. The thief, that was hanged when Christ suffered, did believe only, and the most merciful God did justify him. And because no man shall object, that he lacked time to do good works, for else he would have done them: truth it is, and I will not contend therein; but this I will surely affirm, that faith only saved him. If he had lived, and not regarded faith and the works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this is the effect that I say, that faith by itself saved him, but works by themselves never justified any man.” Here ye have heard the mind of St. Chrisostome, whereby you may perceive, that neither faith is without works, (having opportunity thereto,) nor works can avail to eternal life without faith.

Now to proceed to the third part, which in the former sermon was noted of faith, that is to say, what manner of works they be which spring out of true faith, and lead faithful men unto eternal life: this cannot be known so well as by our saviour Christ himself, who was asked of a certain great man the same question: *What works shall I do*, said Matt. xix. a prince, *to come to everlasting life?* To whom Jesus answered: *If thou wilt come to eternal life, keep the command-*

ments. But the prince, not satisfied herewith, asked farther: *Which commandments?* The scribes and Pharisees had made so many of their own laws and traditions, to bring men to heaven, beside God's commandments, that this man was in doubt whether he should come to heaven by those laws and traditions, or by the laws of God; and therefore he asked Christ, which commandments he meant. Whereunto Christ made him a plain answer, rehearsing the commandments of

Matt. xix. God, saying: *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honour thy father and mother, and, Love thy neighbour as thyself.* By which words Christ declared,

The works
that lead to
heaven, be
the works of
God's com-
mand-
ments.

that the laws of God be the very way that do lead to eternal life, and not the traditions and laws of men. So that this is to be taken for a most true lesson taught by Christ's own mouth, that the works of the moral commandments of God be the very true works of faith, which lead to the blessed life to come.

But the blindness and malice of man, even from the beginning, hath ever been ready to fall from God's command-

Man from
his first fall-
ing from
God's com-
mand-
ments,
hath ever
been ready
to do the
like, and
to devise
works of his
own phan-
tasy to
please God
withal.

ments: as Adam the first man, having but one commandment, that he should not eat of the fruit forbidden; notwithstanding God's commandment, he gave credit unto the woman seduced by the subtle persuasion of the serpent, and so followed his own will, and left God's commandment. And ever since that time, all his succession hath been so blinded through original sin, that they have been ever ready to decline from God and his law, and to invent a new way unto salvation by works of their own device; so much, that almost all the world, forsaking the true honour of the only eternal living God, wandered about in their

The devices
and idol-
atry of the
Gentiles.

own phantasies, worshipping some the sun, the moon, the stars; some Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Saturnus, Apollo, Neptuneus, Ceres, Bacchus, and other dead men and women: some therewith not satisfied, worshipped divers kinds of beasts, birds, fish, fowl, and serpents; every region, town, and house in a manner being divided, and setting up images of such things as they liked, and worshipping the same.

Such was the rudeness of the people after they fell to their own phantasies, and left the eternal living God and his commandments, that they devised innumerable images and gods.

In which error and blindness they did remain, until such time as Almighty God, pitying the blindness of man, sent his true prophet Moses into the world, to reprehend this extreme madness, and to teach the people to know the only living God, and his true honour and worship. But the corrupt inclination of man was so much given to follow his own phantasies, and, as you would say, to favour his own bird that he brought up himself, that all the admonitions, exhortations, benefits, and threatenings of God could not keep him from such his inventions. For notwithstanding all the benefits of God showed unto the people of Israel, yet when Moses went up into the mountain to speak with Almighty God, he had tarried there but a few days, when the people began to invent new gods: and, as it came into their heads, they made a calf of gold, and kneeled down and worshipped it. And after that they followed the Moabites, and worshipped Beelphegor, the Moabites god. Read the book of Judges, the books of the Kings, and the Prophets; and there you shall find how inconstant the people were, how full of inventions, and more ready to run after their own phantasies, than God's most holy commandments. There shall you read of Baal, Moloch, Chamos, Mechom, Baalpeor, As-tarothe, Bel the dragon, Priapus, the brazen serpent, the twelve signs, and many other, unto whose images the people with great devotion invented pilgrimages, precious decking and censing them, kneeling down and offering to them, thinking that an high merit before God, and to be esteemed above the precepts and commandments of God. And where, at that time, God commanded no sacrifice to be made but in Jerusalem only, they did clean contrary, making altars and sacrifices every where, in hills, in woods, and in houses, not regarding God's commandments, but esteeming their own phantasies and devotion to be better than them. And the error hereof was so spread abroad,

The devices
and idol-
atrics of the
Israelites.

that not only the unlearned people, but also the priests and teachers of the people, partly by glory and avarice were corrupted, and partly by ignorance blindly seduced with the same abominations: so much, that king Achab having but only Helias a true teacher and minister of God, there were viii. hundred and fifty priests that persuaded him to honour Baal, and to do sacrifice in the woods or groves. And so continued that horrible error, until the three noble kings, as Josaphat, Ezechias, and Josias, God's elect ministers, destroyed the same clearly, and reduced the people from such their feigned inventions unto the very commandments of God: for the which thing their immortal reward and glory doth and shall remain with God for ever.

Religions
and sects
among the
Jews.

And beside the foresaid inventions, the inclination of man to have his own holy devotions devised new sects and religions, called Pharisees, Sadducees, and scribes, with many holy and godly traditions and ordinances, as it seemed by the outward appearance and goodly glistening of the works, but in very deed all tending to idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy; their hearts within being full of malice, pride, covetousness, and all iniquity. Against which sects and their pretended holiness Christ cried out more vehemently than he did against any other persons,

Matt. xxiii.

saying, and often repeating these words: *Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites! for you make clean the vessel without, but within you be full of ravine and filthiness: Thou blind Pharisee and hypocrite! first make the inward part clean.* For notwithstanding all the goodly traditions and outward shew of good works devised of their own imagination, whereby they appeared to the world most religious and holy of all men; yet Christ, who saw their hearts, knew that they were inwardly, in the sight of God, most unholy, most abominable, and farthest from God of all men. Therefore said he unto them, *Hypocrites, the prophet Esay spake full truly of you, when he said, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain that*

Matt. xv.
Isai. xix.

teach doctrines and commandments of men : for you leave the commandments of God to keep your own traditions.

And though Christ said, *They worshipped God in vain that teach doctrines and commandments of men* ; yet he meant not thereby to overthrow all men's commandments ; for he himself was ever obedient to the princes and their laws made for good order and governance of the people : but he reproved the laws and traditions made by the scribes and Pharisees, which were not made only for good order of the people, (as the civil laws were,) but they were so highly extolled, that they were made to be a right and sincere worshipping of God, as they had been equal with God's laws, or above them : for many of God's laws could not be kept, but were fain to give place unto them. This arrogancy God detested, that man should so advance his laws to make them equal with God's laws, wherein the true honouring and right worshipping of God standeth, and to make his laws for them to be omitted. God hath appointed his laws, whereby his pleasure is to be honoured. His pleasure is also, that all man's laws, being not contrary to his laws, shall be obeyed and kept, as good and necessary for every commonweal, but not as things wherein principally his honour resteth : and all civil and man's laws either be, or should be made, to induce men the better to observe God's laws, that consequently God should be the better honoured by them.

Howbeit, the scribes and Pharisees were not content that their laws should be no higher esteemed than other positive and civil laws ; nor would not have them called by the name of other temporal laws ; but called them holy and godly traditions, and would have them esteemed, not only for a right and true worshipping of God, God's laws be indeed, but also to be the most high honouring of God, to the which the commandments of God should give place. And for this cause did Christ so vehemently speak against them, saying, Your traditions, which men esteem so high, be abomination before God : for commonly of such traditions, followeth the transgression of God's commandments, and a more devotion in the observ-

Man's laws must be observed and kept, but not as God's laws.

Holy traditions were esteemed as God's laws.

Luke xvi. Holiness of man's device is commonly occasion that God is offended.

Matt. xv.

ing of such things, and a greater conscience in breaking of them, than of the commandments of God. As the scribes and Pharisees so superstitiously and scrupulously kept the sabbath, that they were offended with Christ because he healed sick men; and with his apostles, because they being sore hungry gathered the ears of corn to eat upon that day. And because his disciples washed not their hands so often as the traditions required, the scribes and Pharisees quarrelled with Christ, saying: *Why do thy disciples break the traditions of the seniors?* But Christ objected against them, that they, for to observe their own traditions, did teach men to break the very commandments of God: for they taught the people such a devotion, that they offered their goods into the treasure-house of the temple, under the pretence of God's honour, leaving their fathers and mothers, to whom they were chiefly bound, unholpen; and so they brake the commandments of God, to keep their own traditions. They esteemed more an oath made by the gold or oblation in the temple, than an oath made in the name of God himself, or of the temple. They were more studious to pay their tithes of small things, than to do the greater things commanded of God, as works of mercy, or to do justice, or to deal sincerely, uprightly, and faithfully

Matt. xxiii. with God and man: *These*, saith Christ, *ought to be done, and the other not omitted.* And, to be short, they were of so blind judgment, that they stumbled at a straw, and leaped over a block; they would, as it were, *nicely take a fly out of their cup, and drink down a whole camel*; and therefore Christ called them *blind guides*, warning his disciples from time to time to eschew their doctrine. For although they seemed to the world to be most perfect men, both in living and teaching, yet was their life but hypocrisy, and their doctrine but sour leaven, mixt with superstition, idolatry, and preposterous judgment, setting up the traditions and ordinances of man, in the stead of God's commandments.

Thus have you heard how much the world, from the beginning until Christ's time, was ever ready to fall from the com-

mandments of God, and to seek other means to honour and serve him, after a devotion imagined of their own heads; and how they extolled their own traditions as high or above God's commandments; which hath happened also in our times (the more it is to be lamented) no less than it did among the Jews, and that by the corruption, or at the least by the negligence of them that chiefly ought to have preferred God's commandments, and to have preserved the sincere and heavenly doctrine left by Christ. What man, having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see and lament to have entered into Christ's religion, such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of God's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart? Never had the Jews in their most blindness so many pilgrimages unto images, nor used so much kneeling, kissing, and censuring of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions were neither the forty part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused, than of late days they have been among us: which sects and religions had so many hypocritical works in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over, able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers, and sisters of their religion, as most ungodly and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people; keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of merits, being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works of supererogation ready to be sold. And all things which they had were called holy, holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardoned beads, holy shoes, holy rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar's coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence? or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in hope thereby to be saved? Which superstition, although

Sects and
religions
amongst
Christian
men.

(thanks be to God) it hath been little used in this realm, yet in divers other realms it hath been and yet is used among many, both learned and unlearned. But, to pass over the innumerable superstitiousness that hath been in strange apparel, in silence, in dormitory, in cloister, in chapter, in choice of meats and in drinks, and in such like things, let us consider what enormities and abuses have been in the three chief principal points, which they called the three essentials of religion, that is to say, obedience, chastity, and wilful poverty.

The three
chief vows
of religion.

First, under pretence of obedience to their father in religion, (which obedience they made themselves,) they were exempted, by their rules and canons¹, from the obedience of their natural father and mother, and from the obedience of emperor and king, and all temporal power, whom of very duty by God's laws they were bound to obey. And so the profession of their obedience not due was a renunciation of their due obedience. And how their profession of chastity was observed, it is more honesty to pass over in silence, and let the world judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste words, by expressing of their unchaste life, to offend chaste and godly ears. And as for their wilful poverty, it was such, that when in possessions, jewels, plate, and riches, they were equal or above merchants, gentlemen, barons, earls, and dukes; yet by this subtle sophistical term, *Proprium in communi*, they deluded the world, persuading, that notwithstanding all their possessions and riches, yet they observed their vow, and were in wilful poverty. But for all their riches, they might neither help father nor mother, nor other that were indeed very needy and poor, without the licence of their father abbot, prior, or warden; and yet they might take of every man, but they might not give aught to any man, no not to them whom the laws of God bound them to help: and so, through their traditions and rules, the laws of God could bear no rule with them: and therefore of them might be most truly

¹ [See *Extracts from the Canon law*, p. 3, and *Letter to Queen Mary* Sept. 1555.]

said that which Christ spake unto the Pharisees: *You break* Matt. xv. *the commandments of God by your traditions: you honour God with your lips, but your hearts be far from him.* And the longer prayers they used by day and by night, under pretence of such holiness, to get the favour of widows and other simple folks, that they might sing trentals and service for their husbands and friends, and admit them into their suffrages; the more truly is verified of them the saying of Christ: *Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for* Matt. xxiii. *you devour widows' houses under colour of long prayers; therefore your damnation shall be the greater. Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you go about by sea and by land to make mo novices, and new brethren; and when they be admitted of your sect, you make them the children of hell worse than yourselves be.*

Honour be to God, who did put light in the heart of his faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry the eight, and gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to put away all such superstitious and pharisaical sects by Antichrist invented, and set up again the true word of God, and glory of his most blessed name, as he gave the like spirit unto the most noble and famous princes, Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias. God grant all us the King's Highness faithful and true subjects, to feed of the sweet and savoury bread of God's own word, and (as Christ commanded) to eschew all our pharisaical and papistical leaven of man's feigned religion: which, although it were before God most abominable, and contrary to God's commandments and Christ's pure religion, yet it was extolled to be a most godly life, and highest state of perfection: as though a man might be more godly and more perfect, by keeping the rules, traditions, and professions of men, than by keeping the holy commandments of God.

And briefly to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit re- Other de-
ligions, let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical super- vices and
stitutions and abuses, as of beads, of lady psalters, and rosa- supersti-
tions.
ries, of fifteen Oos, of St. Barnard's verses, of St. Agathe's

Decrees
and decre-
tals.

letters; of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and jubilees, of feigned relics, of hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms, candles, fire, and such other; of superstitious fastings, of fraternities, of pardons, with such like merchandize, which were so esteemed and abused to the great prejudice of God's glory and commandments, that they were made most high and most holy things, whereby to attain to the eternal life, or remission of sin: yea also vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees, and councils of Rome, were in such wise advanced, that nothing was thought comparable in authority, wisdom, learning, and godliness unto them; so that the laws of Rome, as they said, were to be received of all men as the four evangelists, to the which all laws of princes must give place: and the laws of God also partly were omitted and less esteemed, that the said laws, decrees, and councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be more duly observed, and had in greater reverence. Thus was the people through ignorance so blinded with the goodly shew and appearance of those things, that they thought the observing of them to be a more holiness, a more perfect service and honouring of God, and more pleasing to God, than the keeping of God's commandments. Such hath been the corrupt inclination of man ever, superstitiously given to make new honouring of God of his own head, and then to have more affection and devotion to observe that, than to search out God's holy commandments, and to keep them. And furthermore, to take God's commandments for men's commandments, and men's commandments for God's commandments, yea, and for the highest and most perfect and holy of all God's commandments. And so was all confused, that scant well learned men, and but a small number of them knew, or at the least would know, and durst affirm the truth, to separate God's commandments from the commandments of men. Whereupon did grow much error, superstition, idolatry, vain religion, preposterous judgment, great contention, with all ungodly living.

An exhort-
ation to the

Wherefore, as you have any zeal to the right and pure

honouring of God, as you have any regard to your own souls, and to the life that is to come, which is both without pain and without end, apply yourselves chiefly above all thing to read and to hear God's word, mark diligently therein what his will is you shall do, and with all your endeavour apply yourselves to follow the same. First, you must have an assured faith in God, and give yourselves wholly unto him, love him in prosperity and adversity, and dread to offend him evermore: then, for his sake, love all men, friends and foes, because they be his creation and image, and redeemed by Christ, as ye are. Cast in your minds, how you may do good unto all men unto your powers, and hurt no man. Obey all your superiors and governors; serve your masters faithfully and diligently, as well in their absence as in their presence, not for dread of punishment only, but for conscience sake, knowing that you are bound so to do by God's commandments. Disobey not your fathers and mothers, but honour them, help them, and please them to your power. Oppress not, kill not, beat not, neither slander nor hate any man; but love all men, speak well of all men, help and succour every man as you may, yea, even your enemies that hate you, that speak evil of you, and that do hurt you. Take no man's goods, nor covet your neighbour's goods wrongfully; but content yourselves with that which ye get truly; and also bestow your own goods charitably, as need and case requireth. Flee all idolatry, witchcraft, and perjury; commit no manner of adultery, fornication; nor other unchasteness, in will nor in deed, with any other man's wife, widow, maid, or otherwise. And travailing continually during your life thus in the observing the commandments of God, (wherein consisteth the pure, principal, and direct honour of God, and which God hath ordained to be the right trade and path-way unto heaven,) you shall not fail, as Christ hath promised, to come to that blessed and eternal life, where you shall live in glory and joy with God for ever: to whom be laud, honour, and impery, for ever and ever. Amen.

keeping of
God's com-
mand-
ments.

A brief re-
hearsal of
God's com-
mand-
ments.

[*Queries concerning the Mass^a.*]

- Stillington MSS. Lambeth Libr. 1108. fol. 6.
C. C. C. C. MSS. cv. p. 213.
Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. App. B. 1. N^o. 25.
1. Whether the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himself?
 2. Whether the receiving of the said sacrament of one man do avail and profit any other?
 3. What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the Mass?
 4. Wherein consisteth the Mass by Christ's institution?

^a [These Queries, it will be seen, laid the foundation of a short discussion on the administration of the Eucharist, between Cranmer on the one side, and some Romish bishops with Boner at their head on the other. The circumstances under which they were proposed are thus related by Collier: "The latter end of this winter [1547, 8] a committee of divines were commanded by the King to draw up an Order for administering the Holy Eucharist in English under both kinds, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament.—These prelates and divines, before they came to a resolution concerning the Form for the administration in both kinds, considered the present practice of the Church, and broke the question into several divisions. And here it was settled, that every one in the commission should give his answer in writing." A manuscript containing many of these answers is preserved at Lambeth. Those only of Cranmer and of Boner with his party are inserted here, but the rest will be found in Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. App. B. 1. N^o. 25.]

Collier observes, not quite consistently with the foregoing extract, that it is somewhat uncertain, "whether these questions were debated before the Statute for communicating under both kinds." But this uncertainty is removed by Query 8. p. 184, (with which he was probably unacquainted;) for this was obviously written subsequently to the Statute to which he alludes. The Parliament which passed this Act was prorogued on the 24th of December, 1547, and the new Order of Communion which was compiled in consequence, and to which the present deliberations were preparatory, appeared under the sanction of a Royal Proclamation on the 8th of March following.

It may be asked, perhaps, on what ground it has been assumed that the debate on the side of the reformers was sustained by the Archbishop. It must be admitted that this point can scarcely be asserted to be proved beyond dispute; but Strype attributes the two latter set of Queries to him without hesitation, and the like supposition respecting the former is strongly supported by his station in the Church, by his having been employed to draw up questions on a similar occasion in the last reign, and by the frequent occurrence of his handwriting throughout the original manuscript. See Foxe, *Acts &c.* vol. ii. p. 658. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 126. Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 243. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 158. *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 61. *Corrections of Burnet*, p. 549. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 19.]

5. What time the accustomed order began first in the Church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament?

6. Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm?

7. Whether it be convenient that Masses satisfactory should continue, that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed?

8. Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the Mass, to the understanding of the people being present?

9. Whether in the Mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?

10. When the reservation of the sacrament first began?

11. When the hanging up of the same first began?

[*Answers to the above Queries.*]

1. The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received of every man for himself.

Stillington MSS.
Lamb.
Libr. 1108.
fol. 8.
Burnet,
Ref. vol. ii.
App. B. i.
N^o. 25.

2. The receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same.

3. The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the Mass is so called, not because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people, (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross) but it is so called, because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross.

4. The Mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. x. and xi.

5. I think the use, that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people, began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ.

6. I think it more agreeable to the Scripture and primitive Church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest.

7. I think it not convenient that satisfactory Masses should continue.

8. I think it very convenient, that the gospel, concerning the death of Christ, and our redemption, should be taught to the people in the Mass.

9. I think it convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the Mass, except in certain secret mysteries, whereof I doubt.

10. The reservation of the sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ.

11. The hanging up, I think, began of late time.

[*Answers to nine of the same Queries by the ^a Bishops of London, ^b Worcester, ^c Hereford, ^d Norwich, ^e Chichester, and ^f St. Asaph.*]

Stilling-
fleet MSS.
Lamb. Libr.
1108.

Burnet,
Ref. vol. ii.
App. B. i.
N^o. 25.

1. I think that the sacrament of thanks was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself.

2. I think that the receiving of the said sacrament doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good works done of any member of Christ's Church be available to the whole mystical body of Christ, and to every lively member of the same, by reason of mutual participation and spiritual communion between them. And also it may be profitable to others as an example, whereby others may be stirred to devotion and to like receiving of the same.

3. I think it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ being really present in the sacrament; which presentation the priest maketh at the Mass in the name of the Church unto God the Father, in memory of Christ's passion and death upon the cross, with thanksgiving therefore, and devout prayer that all Christian people, and, namely, they which spiritually join with the priest in the said oblation, and of whom he maketh special remembrance, may attain the benefit of the said passion.

4. I think it consisteth principally in the consecration, oblation, and receiving of the body and blood of Christ with prayers and thanksgiving; but what the prayers were, and what rites

^a Edmund Boner.
^d William Ruge.

^b Nicholas Hethe.
^e Geo. Day.

^c John Skyp.
^f Robert Warton.

Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the Mass, the Scripture declareth not.

5. I know no further order or commandment of the Church; but what time the devotion of the people was so greatly decayed that they would not come to receive the sacrament, then the priests were compelled to receive it alone.

6. I would wish, that at every Mass there would be some to receive the sacrament with the priest: nevertheless, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the priests of this realm of England may say Mass and receive the sacrament alone.

7. I think that such of the schoolmen as do write of Masses satisfactory, do define them otherwise than is declared in this question: nevertheless, I think that it is not against the word of God, but that priests praying in the Mass both for the quick and dead, and doing other things in the Church about the ministration of the sacraments, may take a living for the same.

8. I think it not necessary to have a sermon at every Mass, but the oftener the same is done to the edifying of the people, (so that the service of their vocation be not thereby defrauded,) the more it is to be commended.

9. To have the whole Mass in English, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.

[*Further Queries referring to the Answers of the Bishops of London, Worcester, Hereford, Norwich, Chichester, St. Asaph, with their replies.*]

1. What or wherein John's fasting, giving alms, being baptized, or receiving the sacrament of thanks in England, doth profit and avail Thomas dwelling in Italy, and not knowing what John in England doth?

2. Whether the said acts in John do profit them that be in heaven, and wherein?

3. Whether it lieth in the said John, to defraud any member of Christ's body of the benefit of his fasting, alms-deeds, baptism, or receiving of the sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one person more than to another?

4. What thing is the presentation of the body and blood of Christ in the Mass, which you call the oblation and sa-

Stillington MSS.
Lamb. Libr.
1108. fol.
40.
Burnet,
Ref. vol. ii.
App. B. i.
No. 25.
Strype,
Cramm.
p. 158.

crifice of Christ? and wherein standeth it, in act, gesture, or words? and in what act, gesture, or words?

5. Is there any rite or prayer not expressed in the Scripture which Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the Mass, which we be now bound to use; and what the same be?

6. Whether in the primitive Church there were any priests that lived by saying of Mass, Matins, and Even-song, and praying for souls only? And whether any such state of priesthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

7. For what cause it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole Mass in English^a?

1. ^bThe distance of place doth not let nor hinder the spiritual communion which is between one and another, so that John and Thomas, wheresoever they be, far and asunder, or near together, being both lively members of Christ, receive either of other's goodness some commodity; although to limit what or wherein, is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the knowledge of God.

2. *Gaudium est in cælo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente, &c.*

3. Charity defraudeth no man of any such benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any man, otherwise than by desire and prayer; but the better the man is, the more available his prayer is to them for whom he especially prayeth.

4. The presentation, &c. standeth in such words, prayers, sup-

^a [The Lambeth manuscript contains another copy of these Queries, written by a clerk, but corrected by Cranmer, and to which he has added also the 10th and 11th of the original questions, and the following new one:

What time did the honouring of the same first begin, and by whom, and what proofs there is thereof?

He seems to have renewed his interrogatories on this point, because they were not answered on the former occasion. But they appear to have been again passed by in silence. At least no replies to them have yet been found.]

^b [The whole of this paper, according to Strype, (*Corrections of Burnet*, p. 549.) is in Boner's hand. The former Answers also, as would appear from the use of the first person, were probably drawn up by him originally on his own behalf, and were adopted subsequently by his brethren.]

plications, and actions, as the priest useth at the Mass, having the body and blood of Christ there present in the sacrament.

5. That Christ used rites and prayers at the institution and distribution of the sacrament, the Scripture declareth : but what rites and prayers they were, we know not ; but I think we ought to use such rites and prayers as the catholic Church hath, and doth uniformly observe.

6. There were priests in the primitive Church which preached not, but exercised themselves in prayer for the quick and the dead, and other spiritual ministrations in the Church, and accus-
tomably used common prayers both morning and evening ; and such state of priesthood is not against the Scripture.

7. This question is answered by Dionise and Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* ; and also an uniformity of all churches in that thing is to be kept.

[*Further Queries in reply to the above Answers^c.*]

1. If you cannot tell what or wherein the acts of John Still-
can profit Thomas, being so far distant from him that he
can never hear of him, why do you then affirm that to be
true, which you cannot tell how nor wherein it can be
true ?

fleet
MSS.
Lamb.
Libr. 1108.
fol. 44.
Burnet,
Ref. vol. iii.
App.
Strype's
Correc-
tions.

2. Whether our prayers for all the souls departed do
profit the apostles, prophets, and martyrs ?

3. Whether they know all the acts of every man here in
earth, and if not, how do they rejoice of those good acts
which they know not ?

4. Whether our evil deeds do them hurt, as our good
deeds profit them ?

5. Whether the presentation of the body and blood of
Christ in the Mass, do stand in all the words and actions
that the priest useth in the Mass ? And if not, then in which
of them it standeth ?

6. Whether we may change those rites and ceremonies
of the Mass, which now we do use ?

^c [These Queries are omitted by Burnet, but they are in the same manuscript with the foregoing Answers, and, as Strype observes, were clearly written in reply to them. By their addition therefore, this discussion is now presented for the first time in a complete form.]

7. Whereby is it known that in the primitive Church were priests which preached not?

8. Why may we not as well alter the Mass into the English tongue, or alter the ceremonies of the same, as we alter the communion to be under both kinds, which in other churches is uniformly ministered to the people under one kind; seeing that the uniformity of all churches requireth not more the uniformity in one than in the other?

Articles to be inquired of in the Visitations to be had within the diocese of Canterbury, in the second year of the reign of our dread sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, and in earth of the Church of England and also of Ireland the Supreme Head.*

First, Whether parsons, vicars, and curates, and every Sparrow, of them, have purely and sincerely, without colour or dissimulation, four times in the year at the least, preached against the usurped power, pretended authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. *Collection of Articles, &c. p. 25. Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iv. p. 23.*

2. Item, Whether they have preached and declared likewise four times in the year at the least, that the King's Majesty's power, authority, and preeminence, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God.

3. Item, Whether any person hath by writing, ciphering, preaching or teaching, deed or act, obstinately holden and stand with to extol, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome or of his see, heretofore claimed and usurped, or by any pretence, obstinately or maliciously invented any thing for the extolling of the same, or any part thereof.

4. Item, Whether in their common prayers they use not

* [It does not appear from the title, whether these Articles were issued at the visitation of the Archbishop, or at that of the King's commissioners. The former is asserted by Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 211, and Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 182, and is certainly the more probable supposition. See *Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury*, N^o. 2. Yet in another passage, *Cranmer*, p. 427, Strype writes as if they were published at a *Royal* visitation, though drawn up by the Archbishop. They were printed by Grafton, 1548, 4to. *Cum privilegio*. Ames, *Typogr. Antig.* ed. Dibd. vol. iii. p. 458. In the same work mention is made of *Archbishop Cranmer's Articles of Visitation in the Diocese of Norwich*, 4to, 1549: but it is not added where a copy may be found. vol. iii. p. 467. n.]

the Collects made for the King, and make not special mention of his Majesty's name in the same.

5. *Item*, Whether they do not every Sunday and holy-day, with the Collects of the English Procession, say the prayer set forth by the King's Majesty for peace between England and Scotland ^b.

^b [A prayer for victory and peace was sent to the Archbishop with an order from the Privy Council for its use, 6th May, 1548. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 26. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 178, and *Memor.* vol. ii. part 1. p. 106. The following excellent prayer is preserved in the State Paper Office, and may probably be that which was then set forth. It was perhaps composed by Cranmer himself.

The Common Prayer.

Most merciful God, the Granter of all peace and quietness, the Giver of all good gifts, the Defender of all nations, who hast willed all men to be accounted as our neighbours, and commanded us to love them as ourself, and not to hate our enemies, but rather to wish them, yea and also to do them good if we can: bow down thy holy and merciful eyes upon us, and look upon the small portion of earth which professeth thy holy name, and thy Son Jesu Christ. Give to all us desire of peace, unity, and quietness, and a speedy wearisomeness of all war, hostility, and enmity to all them that be our enemies; that we and they may, in one heart and charitable agreement, praise thy most holy name, and reform our lives to thy godly commandments. And especially have an eye to this small isle of Britain. And that which was begun by thy great and infinite mercy and love, to the unity and concord of both the nations, that the Scottish men and we might for ever live hereafter, in one love and amity, knit into one nation, by the most happy and godly marriage of the King's Majesty our sovereign Lord, and the young Scottish Queen: whereunto promises and agreements hath been heretofore most firmly made by human order: Grant, O Lord, that the same might go forward, and that our sons' sons, and all our posterity hereafter, may feel the benefit and commodity of thy great gift of unity, granted in our days. Confound all those that worketh against it: let not their counsel prevail: diminish their strength: lay thy sword of punishment upon them that interrupteth this godly peace; or rather convert their hearts to the better way, and make them embrace that unity and peace which shall be most for thy glory, and the profit of both the realms. Put away from us all war and hostility, and if we be driven thereto, hold thy holy and strong power and defence over us: be our garrison, our shield, and buckler. And seeing we seek but a perpetual amity and concord, and performance of quietness promised in thy name, pursue the same with us, and send thy holy angels to be our aiders, that either none at all, or else so little loss and effusion of Christian blood as can, be made thereby. Look not, O Lord, upon our sins, or the sins of our enemies, what they deserve; but have regard to thy most plenteous and abundant mercy, which passeth all thy works, being so infinite and marvellous. Do this, O Lord, for thy Son's sake, Jesu Christ.

The same topic was introduced also into the bidding prayer before the sermon. The following form is printed by Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii.

6. *Item*, Whether they have not removed, taken away, and utterly extincted and destroyed in their churches, chapels, and houses, all images, all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindels or rolls of war, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere.

7. *Item*, Whether they have exhorted, moved, and stirred their parishioners to do the like in every of their houses.

8. *Item*, Whether they have declared to their parishioners the Articles concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous holydays, and done their endeavour to persuade the said parishioners to keep and observe the same Articles inviolably; and whether any of those abrogate days have been kept as holydays, and by whose occasion they were so kept.

9. *Item*, Whether they have diligently, duly, and reverently ministered the sacraments in their cures.

10. *Item*, Whether they have preached, or caused to be preached purely and sincerely the word of God, in every of their cures, every quarter of the year, once at the least, exhorting their parishioners to the works commanded by Scripture, and not to works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture, as wearing or praying upon beads, or such like.

11. *Item*, Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only two lights upon the high altar.

part 1. p. 46, from some manuscript additions attributed to Cranmer, in a Book of Articles and Injunctions then in the possession of N. Battely.

Ye shall also make your hearty and effectual prayer to Almighty God for the peace of all Christian regions, and especially that the most joyful and perpetual peace and unity of this realm and Scotland may shortly be perfected and brought to pass, by the most godly and happy marriage of the King's Majesty and the young Queen of Scotland: and that it would please Almighty God to aid with strength, wisdom, and power, and with his holy defence, all those which favour and set forward the same, and vanquish and confound all those which labour and study to the lett and interruption of so godly a quiet and unity, whereof these two realms should take such a benefit and profit; &c.]

12. *Item*, Whether they have not every holyday, when they have no sermon, immediately after the Gospel, openly, plainly, and distinctly recited to their parishioners in the pulpit, the Pater Noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English.

13. *Item*, Whether every Lent they examine such persons as come to confession to them, whether they can recite the Pater Noster, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.

14. *Item*, Whether they have charged fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to bring them up in some virtuous study and occupation.

15. *Item*, Whether such beneficed men, as be lawfully absent from their benefices, do leave their cure to a rude and unlearned person, and not an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, which can and will teach you wholesome doctrine.

16. *Item*, Whether in every cure they have, they have provided one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Gospels, and set up the same in some convenient place in the church, where their parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same.

17. *Item*, Whether they have discouraged any person from reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English, but rather comforted and exhorted every person to read the same, as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul.

18. *Item*, Whether parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests, be common haunters and resorters to taverns or ale-houses, giving themselves to drinking, rioting, or playing at unlawful games, and do not occupy themselves in the reading or hearing of some part of holy Scripture, or in some other godly exercise.

19. *Item*, Whether they have admitted any man to preach in their cures, not being lawfully licensed thereunto, or have refused or denied such to preach as have been licensed accordingly.

20. Item, Whether they which have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, have not openly recanted and reproved the same.

21. Item, Whether they have one book or register safely kept, wherein they write the day of every wedding, christening, and burying.

22. Item, Whether they have exhorted the people to obedience to the King's Majesty and his ministers, and to charity and love one to another.

23. Item, Whether they have admonished their parishioners, that they ought not to presume to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, before they can perfectly rehearse the Pater Noster, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.

24. Item, Whether they have declared, and to their wits and power have persuaded the people, that the manner and kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, is but a mere positive law, and that therefore all persons, having just cause of sickness or other necessity, or being licensed by the King's Majesty, may moderately eat all kind of meats without grudge or scruple of conscience.

25. Item, Whether they be resident upon their benefices, and keep hospitality or no; and if they be absent, or keep no hospitality, whether they do make due distributions among the poor parishioners or not.

26. Item, Whether parsons, vicars, clerks, and other beneficed men, having yearly to dispend an hundred pound, do not find competently one scholar in the University of Cambridge or Oxford, or some grammar school, and for as many hundred pounds as every of them may dispend, so many scholars likewise to be found by them, and what be their names that they so find.

27. Item, Whether proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, do keep

their chancels, rectories, vicarages, and all other houses appertaining to them in due reparations.

28. *Item*, Whether they have counselled or moved their parishioners, rather to pray in a tongue not known, than in English, or to put their trust in any prescribed number of prayers, as in saying over a number of beads, or other like.

29. *Item*, Whether they have read the King's Majesty's Injunctions every quarter of the year, the first holyday of the same quarter.

30. *Item*, Whether the parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, have of their own the New Testament both in Latin and English, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the same.

31. *Item*, Whether within every church he that ministereth, hath read or caused to be read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and not in Latin, either in the pulpit or some other meet place, so as the people may hear the same.

32. *Item*, Whether every Sunday and holyday at Matins they have read or caused to be read plainly and distinctly in the said place, one chapter of the New Testament in English, immediately after the Lessons, and at Even-song after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament.

33. *Item*, Whether they have not at Matins omitted three Lessons when nine should have been read in the church, and at Even-song the Responds with all the Memories.

34. *Item*, Whether they have declared to their parishioners, that Saint Mark's day, and the evens of the abrogate holydays should not be fasted.

35. *Item*, Whether they have the Procession-book in English, and have said or sung the said Litany in any other place but upon their knees in the midst of their church; and whether they use any other Procession, or omit the said Litany at any time, or say it or sing it in such sort as the people cannot understand the same.

36. *Item*, Whether they have put out of their church-books this word *Papa*, and the name and service of Thomas

Becket, and prayers having rubrics containing pardons or indulgences, and all other superstitious legends and prayers.

37. *Item*, Whether they bid not the beads according to the order appointed by the King's Majesty.

38. *Item*, Whether they have opened and declared unto you the true use of ceremonies, that is to say, that they be no workers nor works of salvation, but only outward signs and tokens, to put us in remembrance of things of higher perfection.

39. *Item*, Whether they have taught and declared to their parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and if superstitiously they abstain from working upon those days, that then they do grievously offend and displease God.

40. *Item*, Whether they have admitted any persons to the communion, being openly known to be out of charity with the neighbours.

41. *Item*, Whether the deans, archdeacons, masters of hospitals, and prebendaries, have preached by themselves personally twice every year at the least.

42. *Item*, Whether they have provided, and have a strong chest for the poor men's box, and set and fastened the same near to the high altar.

43. *Item*, Whether they have diligently called upon, exhorted, and moved their parishioners, and specially when they make their testaments, to give to the said poor men's box, and to bestow that upon the poor chest, which they were wont to bestow upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, masses satisfactory, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to friars, and upon other like blind devotions.

44. *Item*, Whether they have denied to visit the sick, or bury the dead being brought to the church.

45. *Item*, Whether they have bought their benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit.

46. *Item*, Whether they have every Sunday, when the people be most gathered, read one of the Homilies in order as they stand in the book set forth by the King's Majesty.

47. *Item*, Whether they do not omit Prime and Hours, when they have any sermon or homily.

48. *Item*, Whether they have said or sung any mass, in any oratory, chapel, or any man's house, not being hallowed.

49. *Item*, Whether they have given open monition to their parishioners that they should not wear beads, nor pray upon them.

50. *Item*, Whether they have moved their parishioners, lying upon their death-beds, or at any other time, to bestow any part of their substance upon trentals, masses satisfactory, or any such blind devotions.

51. *Item*, Whether they take any trentals or other masses satisfactory to say or sing for the quick or the dead.

52. *Item*, Whether they have given open monition to their parishioners to detect and present to their ordinary all adulterers and fornicators, and such men as have two wives living, and such women as have two husbands living, within their parishes.

53. *Item*, Whether they have not monished their parishioners openly, that they should not sell, give, nor otherwise alienate any of their churches' goods.

54. *Item*, Whether they or any of them do keep more benefices, and other ecclesiastical promotions than they ought to do, not having sufficient license and dispensations thereunto, and how many they be, and their names.

55. *Item*, Whether they minister the communion any other ways than only after such form and manner as is set forth by the King's Majesty in the Book of the Communion.

56. *Item*, Whether they hallowed and delivered to the people any candles upon Candlemas-day, and ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, or any palms upon Palm-Sunday last past.

57. *Item*, Whether they had upon Good-Friday last past, the sepulchres with their lights, having the sacrament therein.

58. *Item*, Whether they upon Easter-even last past hallowed the font, fire, or Paschal, or had any Paschal set up, or burning in their churches.

59. *Item*, Whether your parsons and vicars have admitted any curates to serve their cures, which were not first examined and allowed either by my Lord of Canterbury, Master Archdeacon, or their officers.

60. *Item*, Whether you know any person within your parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English or sincerely preached, or of the execution of the King's Majesty's Injunctions, or other his Majesty's proceedings in matters of religion.

61. *Item*, Whether every parish have provided a chest with two locks and keys for the book of wedding, christening, and burying.

62. *Item*, Whether in the time of the Litany or any other common prayer, in the time of the sermon or homily, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, any person have departed out of the church without a just and necessary cause.

63. *Item*, Whether any bells have been knolled or rung at the time of the premises.

64. *Item*, Whether any person hath abused the ceremonies, as in casting holy water upon his bed, or bearing about him holy bread, St. John's Gospel, ringing of holy bells, or keeping of private holydays, as tailors, bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such other.

65. *Item*, Whether the money coming and rising of any cattle, or other moveable stocks of the Church, and money given or bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, or lamps, (not paid out of any lands,) have not been employed to the poor men's chest.

66. *Item*, Who hath the said stocks and money in their hands, and what be their names.

67. *Item*, Whether any indiscreet persons do uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the Church.

68. *Item*, Whether they that understand not the Latin do pray upon any Primer but the English Primer, set forth by the King's Majesty's authority; and whether they that understand Latin do use any other than the Latin Primer, set forth by like authority.

69. *Item*, Whether there be any other grammar taught in any other school within this diocese, than that which is set forth by the King's Majesty.

70. *Item*, Whether any person keep their church holy-day and the dedication day, any otherwise, or at any other time, than is appointed by the King's Majesty.

71. *Item*, Whether the service in the church be done at due and convenient hours.

72. *Item*, Whether any have used to commune, jangle, and talk in the church, in the time of the common prayer, reading of the homily, preaching, reading or declaring of the Scripture.

73. *Item*, Whether any have wilfully maintained and defended any heresies, errors, or false opinions, contrary to the faith of Christ, and holy Scripture.

74. *Item*, Whether any be common drunkards, swearers, or blasphemers of the name of God.

75. *Item*, Whether any have committed adultery, fornication, or incest, or be common bawds, and receivers of such evil persons, or vehemently suspected of any of the premises.

76. *Item*, Whether any be brawlers, slanderers, chiders, scolders, and sowers of discord between one person and another.

77. *Item*, Whether you know any that use charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any like craft invented by the Devil.

78. *Item*, Whether the churches, pulpits, and other necessities appertaining to the same, be sufficiently repaired.

79. *Item*, Whether you know any, that in contempt of their own parish church, do resort to any other church.

80. *Item*, Whether any inn-holders or alehouse-keepers do use commonly to sell meat and drink in the time of common prayer, preaching, or reading of the homilies or Scripture.

81. *Item*, Whether you know any to be married within the degrees prohibited by the laws of God, or that be separated or divorced without a just cause allowed by the law of God, and whether any such have married again.

82. *Item*, Whether you know any to have made privy contracts of matrimony, not calling two or more thereunto.

83. *Item*, Whether they have married solemnly, the banns not first lawfully asked.

84. *Item*, Whether you know any executors or administrators of dead men's goods which do not bestow such of the said goods as were given and bequeathed, or appointed to be distributed among the poor people, repairing of highways, finding of poor scholars, or marrying of poor maids, or such other like charitable deeds.

85. *Item*, Whether any do contemn married priests, and for that they be married, will not receive the communion or other sacraments at their hands.

86. *Item*, Whether you know any that keep in their houses undefaced any abused or feigned images, any tables, pictures, paintings, or other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, or superstition.

[*Articles of Inquiry at the Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, 1550.*^a]

1550, 10 Septembris, Visitation in the Chapter-house by my Lord Archbishop, and Articles there ministered to be answered unto.

Harl. MSS.
7044. page
284. Copy
by Baker
from Bp.
Gunning's
MSS.

1. Whether any of this church is a privy or an apert setter forth of the Bishop of Rome his authority, or is a maintainer of heresy, superstition, idolatry, or any thing repugnant or derogatory to the holy Scripture, or the King's Majesty's proceedings in matters of religion.

2. *Item*, Whether any of this church do keep or observe, diligently and inviolably, without colour or fraud, the Book called the Common Prayer, according to the rules of the same, and the Statute of Parliament authorizing the same Book, and whether you use any other ceremonies at the communion or other divine service, than is mentioned or allowed in the same Book.

3. *Item*, Whether any inhabiter within my diocese of Canterbury have been admitted to the communion within this church, except such as be of the same church^b.

4. *Item*, Whether the sermons by foundation or statutes of this church or otherwise lawfully assigned, have been made by the Dean, Prebendaries, or Preachers of the same, at the times and places appointed therefore.

5. *Item*, Whether any Prebendary, Petty-canon, or Vicar of this church is beneficed beside the same, how many every

^a [These Articles and the Injunctions which follow, though found in different collections, manifestly belong to the same Visitation. The Articles were issued on the 10th of Sept. 1550. On the receipt of the answers to them, the Injunctions were given on the 29th of the ensuing October.]

The chronological order has in this instance been departed from for the sake of keeping together documents of the same character. If it had been followed strictly, these two papers would have been placed after the work on the Lord's Supper.]

^b [See the sixth Injunction below, p. 201.]

one of them have, what be their names, and what their clear yearly value.

6. *Item*, Whether such distributions as should be made to the poor, either here, or at the benefices appropriated to this church, or elsewhere, by the appropriations, ordinances, and statutes of this church, have been done accordingly or no.

7. *Item*, Whether the grammar school be diligently and duly kept, and the Schoolmaster being learned in the Greek and Latin tongue, and Usher, do resort and continue at the same in due times and convenient hours, and whether the scholars do profit in learning or no.

8. *Item*, Whether the just number of scholars and ministers of this church be continually maintained in the same, as they ought to be by the foundation and statutes thereof, and whether any have been admitted to any scholarship, but such as have been destitute of all help of friends.

9. *Item*, Whether any of this church have taken any gifts in money or otherwise, for the preferment of any person to any petty-canonship, scholarship, or any other office or room within the said church.

10. *Item*, Whether there be any incorrigible, troublesome, makebates, or otherwise disobedient to the Dean of this church, or other their superiors.

11. *Item*, Whether any be more absent from the church, than by the ordinances and statutes of the same they may or ought to be.

12. *Item*, Whether the foundation of this church or statutes, or any portion of the same, be by any colourable ways or means wrested, or derogated, or made void and of no force.

13. *Item*, Where, when, and to whom the books of the Latin service were delivered, and how many, and whether any of them were sold, and by whom, or doth remain still in the hands and custody of any of this church.

14. *Item*, Whether any of the Petty-canons, Vicars, and ministers of this church, be a carder, dicer, rioter, fighter, brawler, swearer, or drunkard.

15. *Item*, Whether they do occupy themselves out of service-time and meals in some virtuous exercise and learning.

16. *Item*, Whether there be any strife, rancour, malice, or debate, between any of this church, and if any be, between whom it is, and for what cause.

17. *Item*, Whether any have committed adultery, fornication, or incest, or be vehemently suspected of the premises.

18. *Item*, Whether the Prebendaries and other of this church, which are bound to be resident, do keep hospitality, and specially for the poor, and the ministers of this church.

19. *Item*, Whether they do come to the church so much as they ought to do.

20. *Item*, Whether the correction of faults by clerks, choristers, vergers, ringers, and other ministers, be made and done accordingly.

21. *Item*, What are the whole and yearly revenues of this church, and what portion of the same is assigned for the poor, and mending of highways, or other deeds of charity, and on whom it hath been bestowed.

22. *Item*, Whether lands, goods, moveables, or chattels appertaining to this church, is sold or otherwise alienated; to whom, and for how much.

23. *Item*, What treasure they have in store to supply all necessities and chances that may be incident unto this church.

24. *Item*, Whether the treasure of this church and jewels be well and diligently kept by just indented inventory.

25. *Item*, Whether this church, every Prebendary's house, and other buildings within the said church, and the lands, tenements, and rectories belonging to the said church, be duly surveyed and kept in good reparation.

26. *Item*, Whether the common seal of this church is safely kept, according to the foundation or other ordinances of the same.

27. *Item*, Whether there is a perfect register kept of all leases, fees, and offices, granted or confirmed by the church.

28. *Item*, Whether every year once there is a perfect

and full account made of all and singular the revenues and other profits, in anywise to this church belonging.

29. *Item*, Whether any within this church have been or is a hinderer of the word of God, either for reading or preaching of the same, or a notorious slanderer of the preachers thereof.

30. *Item*, Whether those of this church, which may dispend in benefices and other promotions ecclesiastical an hundred pounds, do give competent exhibition to one scholar at one of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford, and so for so many hundred pounds as he may dispend, do find so many scholars, and what be their names^c.

31. *Item*, Whether any use commonly to be absent from the sermons made within this church.

32. *Item*, Whether there be a library within this church, and in the same St. Augustine's works, Basyll, Gregory, Nazianzene, Hierome, Ambrose, Chrysostome, Cypriane, Theophilact, Erasmus, and other good authors and works.

33. *Item*, Whether you have every day some part of holy Scripture read in English at your table, at the time of your meals.

34. *Item*, Whether there be two Bibles of the largest volume in English, in some meet and convenient place in the body of this church.

35. *Item*, Whether there be any lecture of divinity within this said church.

36. *Item*, Whether ye know any other thing more than these worthy of reformation.

37. *Item*, Whether the Dean, Prebendaries, Preachers, Schoolmaster, Usher, Petty-canons, and other ministers of this church, have taken a corporal oath, to observe and keep all and singular the statutes of this church, so much as concerns them, or any of them.

38. *Item*, What was done with the images lately in this church, and whether any doth remain not defaced and utterly extincted, and in whose custody and keeping they be.

^c [See the preceding Articles, N^o. 26, and Letter to Crumwell, 29 Nov. 1539.]

[*Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, 1550.*^a]

Injunctions given by me Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, To the Dean, Prebendaries, Preachers, and other ministers and officers of the Metropolitan and Cathedral Church of Canterbury, the 29th day of October, in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Edward the VIth, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, and in earth next under Christ of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, the Supreme Head.

C. C. C. C. *First*, They and every of them shall inviolably ob-
MSS. CXX. serve, fulfil, and keep all and singular the King's Majesty's
p. 68. *Copy.* Injunctions, devised as well for the said church as for other
metropolitan and cathedral churches of this realm.

2. *Item*, That they keep mine Injunctions^b given within my diocese of Canterbury and peculiars, in as much as they shall concern the clergy of the same, except such as can in no wise be executed within the said church.

3. *Item*, That the Prebendaries and other ministers of the said church, shall sit in the Chapter-house at the sermons made there and no where else.

4. *Item*, That every Prebendary of the said church shall preach, or cause to be preached, two sermons at the least yearly in the parish churches appropriated to the said church, being within my said diocese of Canterbury.

5. *Item*, That every Preacher of the said church, not being beneficed within my said diocese, and resident upon the same, shall be resident yearly in the said church by the

^a [See note p. 196.]

^b [It is clear from hence, that besides Edw. VI.'s Injunctions, Cranmer had issued some of his own. *Articles of Inquiry* at his Visitation 1548, are printed by Sparrow and Wilkins, and will be found above, p. 185; but neither of these collectors makes any mention of his *Injunctions*.]

space of six months at the least. And that always there be three of the said Preachers within my said diocese of Canterbury.

6. *Item*^c, That no inhabiter within my said diocese of Canterbury shall be admitted to the communion within the said church, without the expressed consent of the parson, vicar, or curate, where he or she dwelleth, first obtained and had ; except wayfaring persons or necessity doth otherwise require.

7. *Item*, That hereafter there be no selling nor changing of prebendaries' houses, but that every one shall be contented with that house, which immediately before was his predecessor's.

8. *Item*, That the Schoolmaster of the grammar school do daily hear the scholars of the higher form to repeat their ordinary lessons. And the Usher of the same to hear daily the scholars of the lower form to parse their ordinary lessons.

9. *Item*, That no women do accustomedly lie within the precinct of the said church, but such as have their husbands with them, or that be servants.

10. *Item*, That all back doors into the city out of any Prebendary's house or others shall be clearly shut up.

11. *Item*, That every Petty-canon and Vicar of this church do personally receive the communion in his own course, except sickness or other necessity do let.

12. *Item*, That no sale be hereafter made of any goods belonging to the said church without the consent of the Dean and Chapter.

^c [See third Article of Visitation above, p. 196.]

Against the Articles of the Devonshire Men^a.

MSS. When I first read your requests, O ignorant men of
 C.C.C.C. Devonshire and Cornwall, straightways came to my mind
 cii. p. 337. a request, which James and John made unto Christ: to
 Strype, whom Christ answered, *You ask you wot not what*. Even
Cranmer, so thought I of you, as soon as ever I heard your Articles,
 App. N^o. 40. that you were deceived by some crafty papists, which de-
 Todd, *Life* vised those Articles for you, to make you ask you wist not
of Cran- what.
 mer, vol. ii. p. 76.

As for the devisers of your Articles, if they understand them, I may not call them ignorant persons, but, as they be indeed, most rank papists, and wilful traitors and adversaries, both to God and to our sovereign Lord the King, and to the whole realm. But I cannot be persuaded so to think of you, that in your hearts willingly you be papists and

^a ["The commons this year [1549] brake out into a dangerous rebellion; and though they were once or twice appeased, and scattered "in some places, yet they made insurrections in others: and chiefly in "Devon, where they were very formidable for their numbers. The "reason they pretended was double. The one was, the oppression of "the gentry in enclosing of their commons from them: the other, the "laying aside the old religion; which because it was old, and the way "their forefathers worshipped God, they were very fond of. The Lord "Russel, Lord Privy Seal, who was sent against them, offering to receive "their complaints, the rebels sent them to him, drawn up under fifteen "Articles: as before they had sent their demands in seven Articles, and "a protestation that they were the King's, body and goods. In answer to which the King sent a message to them, that may be seen in "Foxe. They sent also a supplication to the King, to the which an "answer was made by the King's learned counsel. To the fifteen Articles the Archbishop drew up an excellent answer at good length." It was written "after the rout at Exeter given them by the Lord "Russel and the taking prisoners divers of their captains and priests, "and between the condemnation and execution of Humphrey Arundel, "and Bray, Mayor of Bodmin." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 185, who prints it at length, but with many inaccuracies, in his Appendix. It has now been corrected from the original draft in Cranmer's handwriting at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. For further particulars respecting this rebellion see Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 665. Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 1002. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 237.]

traitors: but that those that be such have craftily seduced you being simple and unlearned people, to ask you wot not what.

Wherefore, my duty unto God, and the pity that I have of your ignorance, move me now at this time, to open plainly and particularly your own Articles unto you, that you may understand them, and no longer be deceived.

In your first Article you require, that all the general councils and holy decrees of our forefathers, may be observed and kept, and whosoever shall gainsay them to be holden as heretics.

This you all ask, but what you ask, I dare boldly say, very few or none of you understand. For how many of you, I pray you, do know certainly which be called the general councils, and holy decrees of the fathers, and what is in them contained? The holy decrees, as they call them, be nothing else but the laws and ordinances of the Bishop of Rome. Whereof the most part be made for his own advancement, glory, and lucre; and to make him and his clergy governors of the whole world, and to be exempted from all princes' laws, and to do what they list. And would you ask, if you knew what you asked, that we should put away the laws of this realm, and be governed by the Bishop of Rome's laws? If you mean this, then be you traitors to the King, and enemies to your own realm. And if you mean it not, consider what persons they be, and how they have deceived you, that make you ask you wot not what.

And as for the general councils, you say you will have them all kept: but you be not so destitute of all reason, that you would have spoken such words, if you had known what you had said. For a great number of the councils repugn one against another. How should they then be all kept, when one is contrary to another, and the keeping of one is the breaking of another? And among your own Articles you say, you will have divers things observed, which be not only contrary to the general councils, but also contrary to the law of this realm, and also to God's law, as it shall be plainly declared when we come to the Articles.

And all reason is contrary that you should have asked such things, if you had known what you had asked. I have this opinion of the great number of you, that you would fain walk in the right way, if you could find it. And forasmuch as I perceive that wicked and false guides, under pretence to bring you to the high way, have brought you clean out of it, my good-will shall be, seeing you so far wandering out of the way, and so blindfolded with evil persuasions, that you cannot see where you go, to open your eyes that you may see, and to set you again into the right way. And when your eyes be so opened, that you may see, and the right way showed unto you, wherein you should walk; then if you will still wink, and not see, and run headlong in error, and not come to the right way, then you may no longer be called simple and ignorant people, but perverse, froward, and wicked papists and traitors, enemies to God and your own realm.

But now I will come to your Articles particularly, opening every one of them by himself, that you may see the bowels thereof, and what is contained in the same; that when you shall understand the whole, you may judge whether you knew before what you asked, or you were deceived by subtle and wily papistical traitors.

Your first Article is this.

- I. We will have all the general councils, and holy decrees of our forefathers, observed, kept, and performed: and whosoever shall againsay them, we hold them as heretics.

First, to begin with the manner of your phrase. Is this the fashion of subjects to speak unto their prince; 'We will have?' Was this manner of speech at any time used of the subjects to their prince since the beginning of the world? Have not all true subjects ever used to their sovereign Lord this form of speaking, 'Most humbly beseecheth your faithful and obedient subjects?' Although the papists have abused your ignorance in propounding such Articles, which you understand not, yet you should not have suffered

yourselves so much to be led by the nose and bridled by them, that you should clearly forget your duty of allegiance unto your sovereign Lord, saying unto him, 'This we will have;' and that saying with armour upon your backs and swords in your hands. Would any of you that be householders, be contented that your servants should come unto you with harness upon their backs, and swords in their hands, and say unto you, 'This we will have?' If then you would abhor and detest this in your servants towards yourselves, how can you allow your fact? With what conscience can you, being but subjects, do to your King that thing which you would condemn in your servants towards yourselves? But answer me this, Be you subjects or no? If you be subjects, then I admonish you, as St. Paul taught Titus, saying: *Warn them to be subject to princes, and rulers, obeying them at a word.* But tell me again, Pertaineth this to subjection and obedience to say, 'This we will have?' St. Peter saith: *Be subject unto kings, as chief heads, and to other rulers sent by them. For so is the will of God.* God's will is, that you should be ruled by your princes. But whether is this to be ruled by your King, or to rule your King, to say, 'Thus we will have the realm governed?' Your servants be by the Scripture commanded, as they fear God, to be obedient to their masters, whether their masters be good or evil. And can you think it meet or lawful for you to disobey your undoubted King, being a prince most innocent, most godly, and most careful for your surety and weakth? If any thing can declare disobedience, what can declare it more, than subjects to come with force of arms to their natural King and Prince, and say, 'This we will have?'

But now leaving your rude and unseemly manner of speech to your most sovereign Lord, I will come to the point, and join with you in the effect of your first Article. You say, you will have all the holy decrees observed and kept. But do you know what they be? The holy decrees, (as I told you before,) be called the Bishop of Rome's ordinances and laws. Which how holy and godly soever they

be called, they be indeed so wicked, so ungodly, so full of tyranny, and so partial, that since the beginning of the world were never devised or invented the like. I shall rehearse a certain of them, whereby you may judge of the rest, to the intent that yourselves may see how holy they be, and may say your minds, whether you would have them kept or no. And at the hearing of them, if you shall not think them meet to be kept here in this realm, then you may see how they deceived you, that moved you to ask this Article. And if you like them, and would have them kept, after you know what they be, then I say assuredly, that you be not only wicked papists, but also heretics, and most heinous traitors to the King and this his realm. And yet how an absolute papist varieth from an heretic or traitor, I know not; but that a papist is also both a heretic and a traitor withal.

One decree saith, "That whosoever doth not know-
ledge himself to be under the obedience of the Bishop of Rome, is an heretic." Now answer me to this question, Whether be you under the obedience of the Bishop of Rome, or not? If you say that you be under his obedience, then be you traitors by the laws of this realm. And if you deny it, then be you heretics by this decree. And shift is there none to save you from treason, but to renounce this decree, that commandeth you to be under the Bishop of Rome: and so to confess, contrary to your own first Article, that all decrees are not to be kept.

Yet a great many other decrees be as ill, and worse than this. One saith, "That all princes' laws which be against any decree of the Bishop of Rome, be void and of no strength." Another decree saith, "That all the decrees of the Bishop of Rome ought for ever to be kept of all men, as God's word." Another decree there is, "That whosoever receiveth not the laws of the Bishop of Rome, neither availeth him the catholic faith, nor the four Evangelists. For his sins shall never be forgiven." Yet is there a worse and more detestable decree, "That all kings and princes that suffer the Bishop of Rome's decrees to be

“broken in any point are to be taken as infidels.” Another is there also, “That the bishop of Rome is bound to no manner of decrees, but he may constrain all other persons, both spiritual and temporal, to receive all his decrees and canons.” Another is yet more devilish than any before rehearsed, “That although the bishop of Rome neither regard his own salvation, nor no man’s else, but put down with himself headlong innumerable people by heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man presume to reprove him therefore.” But what should I tarry, and make you weary in rehearsing a number of laws? For a thousand other like canons and decrees^b there be, to the advancement of the Bishop of Rome his usurped power and authority.

I cannot think of you, that you be so far from all godliness, from all wit and discretion, that you would have these decrees observed within this realm, which be so blasphemous to God, so injurious to all princes and realms, and so far from all equity and reason. But here you may easily perceive, what wily foxes you met withal, which persuaded you to arm yourselves, to make sedition in your own country, to stand against your princes, and the laws of your realm, for such Articles as you understood not, and to ask you wist not what. For I dare say for you, that the subtle papists, when they moved you to stand in this Article, “that all the holy decrees should be observed,” they showed you nothing of these decrees, that they were taken for holy decrees. For if they had, they knew right well that you would never have consented unto this Article; but would have taken them for traitors, that first moved you thereto.

For now shall I shew you, what miserable case you should bring yourselves unto, if the King’s Majesty would assent unto this your first Article, “that all the decrees should be kept and observed.” For among other partial decrees made in the favour of the clergy, this is one, “That none of the clergy shall be called, or sued before any temporal judge, for any manner of cause, either for debt, suit of

^b [See *Collections from the Canon Law*, p. 1, &c., and *Letter to Queen Mary*, Sept. 1555.]

“lands, felony, murder, or for any other cause or crime :
“nor shall have any other judge, but his bishop only.”
Another is, “That, a spiritual man may sue a temporal
“man before a spiritual or temporal judge at his pleasure :
“but a temporal man cannot sue a spiritual, but only before
“his Ordinary.” I cannot deny, but these be good and be-
neficial laws for the liberty of the clergy. But for your
own parts, I suppose you do not think it an indifferent law,
that a priest shall sue you where he list, with the license of
his Ordinary ; and you shall sue him for no manner of cause,
but only before his own Ordinary. Or if a priest had slain
one of your sons or brethern, that you should have no remedy
against him, but only before the bishop. What meant then
those papistical priests, that stirred you to ask and will
such decrees and laws to be observed in this realm, but
covertly and craftily to bring you under their subjection :
and that you yourselves ignorantly asking you wist not
what, should put your own heads under their girdles?

For surely if you had known these decrees, when you
consented to this Article, you would have torn the Article in
pieces, and them that moved you thereto also. For these
decrees be not only partial, and against all equity and rea-
son, made only for the favour of the clergy, and the sup-
pression of the laity ; but also they be, and ever have been,
clearly contrary to the laws and customs of this realm. And
yet by this Article you will have the old ancient laws and
customs of this realm (which have ever been used in all
kings' times hitherto) to be void and to cease, and these
decrees to come in their place, and be observed of all men,
and againsaid of no man. For whosoever speaketh against
them, you will hold them for heretics. And in so saying,
look what sentence to give of yourselves. Although your
Article say it, yet I am sure you be not so much enemies to
your own realm, that you would have the old ancient laws
and customs of this realm (for the defence whereof all the
noble kings of this realm have so valiantly and so justly
stand against the Bishops of Rome) now to be taken away,
and give place unto Romish decrees. And then by your

own Article you hold and condemn yourselves to be heretics.

How be you bewitched by these false papists? Why do you suffer them thus to abuse you by their subtilty, to make you condemn yourselves of heresy? Why do you not send them unto the King's Majesty, like errant traitors, as indeed they be, saying unto him, 'Most mighty Prince, and most dread sovereign Lord, we present here unto you most heinous traitors against your Majesty and realm, and greatest dissemblers and false deceivers of us, simple and ignorant people, and yet in our hearts your true and faithful subjects. We have erred, we have grievously offended your Majesty: but by ignorance, being so seduced and provoked by the crafty persuasions of these most heinous traitors, that we wist not what we did. But pardon us, sovereign Lord, have pity upon our simplicity and ignorance; and these abominable traitors punish according to their deservings. Have mercy, most merciful Prince, of us, your poor flock, which were ignorantly led out of the way, and strike with the sword those malicious guides, that purposely would have led us to our utter destruction.'

If you did thus, then would you do the parts of true, faithful, and loving subjects, and should declare to the world, that all that you have hitherto done was done by error and ignorance. And I would nothing doubt of the King's Majesty his clemency and mercy towards you.

But yet, to the intent that you may further know how unreasonable your first Article is, I will yet rehearse another sort of the holy laws and decrees. One is, "That no layman may have a benefice to farm." Another is, "That none of the clergy may give any thing to the relief of the commonweal and necessity of their own realm, without the consent of the Bishop of Rome." Another is, "That no layman may meddle with election or any other thing, that pertaineth to any of the clergy." Another is, "That none of the clergy ought to give any oath of fidelity to their princes, except they have temporal lands of them." An-

other is, "That princes ought to obey the bishops, and the
 " decrees of the Church, and to submit their heads unto their
 " bishops, and not to be judges over the bishops." Another
 is this, "Whosoever offendeth the liberties of the Church, or
 " doth break any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or
 " conspireth against the person or estate of the Bishop or
 " see of Rome, or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or re-
 " belleteth against the same Bishop or see, or that killeth a
 " priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other
 " prelate, or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands
 " belonging to the Church of Rome, or to any other church
 " immediately subject unto Rome, or whosoever invadeth
 " any pilgrims that go to Rome, or any suitors to the court
 " of Rome, or that let the devolution of causes unto that
 " court, or that put any new charges or impositions, real or
 " personal, upon any church, or ecclesiastical person; and
 " generally, all other that offend in the cases contained in
 " the bull, which is usually published by the Bishops of
 " Rome upon Maundy Thursday; all these can be assoiled
 " by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none other, but
 " only by the Bishop of Rome, or by his express license." These, with an infinite number of like sort, be the *godly*
 and *holy* decrees which you long so sore for, and so much
 desire.

Now would I know, whether you think that these decrees
 were made for the common wealth of all realms, or only for
 the private weal of the Bishop of Rome, and of his bishops
 and clergy: and whether you like and long for these laws;
 or now, at the hearing of them, your longing is done. If
 you like them well, for my part I would you had them
 practised amongst you for a while, (so that the rest of the
 realm were not troubled, neither with you, nor with your
 decrees,) until you repented yourselves of your foolish de-
 mands. I think within a year you would kneel on your
 knees to the King's Majesty, desiring him to take from your
 necks the yoke and halters which you had made for your-
 selves.

But to conclude the sum of your first Article in few words.

It is nothing else but a clear subversion of the whole state and laws of this realm; and to make this realm to be wholly governed by Romish laws, and to crown the idol and Antichrist of Rome king of this realm, and to make our most undoubted and natural King his vile subject and slave. Oh! what was in your minds to ask such a thing, and so presumptuously to say, that you *will* have it? I trust there be not in you so much malice and devilishness as the Article containeth, but that you were craftily subornate by subtle papists to ask and demand you wist not what.

If you had asked, that the word of God might be duly observed and kept every where within this realm, and whosoever would againsay God's word, to be holden as a heretic; you had declared yourselves to be godly men, and all that be godly would have commended and furthered your request. But forasmuch as you ask Romish canons and decrees to be observed and kept here in England, and whosoever shall againsay them to be holden as heretics, there is neither godly nor truly English man, that will allow you, or consent to your Articles. But clean contrary to your Articles, a great number of godly persons within this realm, for the very love that they have to God, that his name may be glorified above all things, be daily humble suitors to the King's Majesty, that he following the steps of his father, will study and travail to weed out of this his realm, all popish decrees, laws, and canons, and whatsoever else is contrary to God's word: and that the speakers against God's word may be taken, (as they be indeed,) for heretics. And is any of you so far from reason, that he thinketh the King's Majesty ought to hearken to you, that by force and stoutness say, you will have Romish laws and decrees kept in this realm, and to turn his ears from them, that with all humility be suitors for God's word?

But now will I come to your other Articles, wherein I will be brief, forasmuch as in the first I have been long and tedious.

Your second Article is this :

- II. We will have the law of our sovereign Lord King Henry VIII. the most noble prince of famous memory, concerning the Six Articles, to be used again, as in his time they were.

Letting pass your rude style, nothing becoming subjects, to say, 'You will have;' first, I examine you of the cause of your wilful will, wherefore you will have these Six Articles; which never were laws in no region, but this; nor in this realm also, until the 31st year of king Henry VIII: and then in some things so enforced by the evil counsel of certain papists, against the truth, and common judgment both of divines and lawyers, that if the King's Majesty himself had not come personally into the Parliament House, those laws had never passed. And yet within a year or little more, the same most noble Prince was fain to temper the said laws, and moderate them in divers points: so that the Statute of Six Articles continued in his force little above the space of one year. Is this then so great a matter to make these uproars, and to arise against the whole realm? Will you take away the present laws of this realm, (which be and ever have been the laws of all other countries also,) and set up new laws, which never were but in this realm only, and were here in force not fully thirteen months? And how chanceth it, that you be so earnest in this Article, which is directly contrary to your first Article, but that you know not what neither of the Articles meaneth; but be persuaded by perverse papists to ask you wot not what? But now hear the repugnance of your two Articles: by your first you will have all general councils and decrees observed and kept; and by your second Article you will have the Six Articles used again. Then let us compare the general councils and decrees with the Six Articles; and you shall see them agree as well together as black and white.

First, it is contained in the Canons of the Apostles, that a priest under no pretence of holiness may put away his wife; and, if he do, he shall be excommunicated. And the Six Articles say, that if a priest put not away his wife, he

shall be taken for a felon. If he keep her not still, he must be excommunicate by the Canon of the Apostles; and if he keep her still, he must suffer death by the Six Articles. You be cunning men, if you can set these two together. Also the Council of Nice, which was the chief of all the general councils, and was celebrated more than twelve hundred years past, decreed clean directly contrary to the Six Articles. For where the Six Articles command all priests to be separate from their wives, Nicene Council determined clean contrary, that they should not be separated, confessing such copulation to be holy and godly. And the Council Gangrense, (which was about the same time,) so much allowed the marriage of priests, that they accursed all them that would abstain from the administration of priests, because they were married. These councils vary so far from the Six Articles, that either you must put the general councils out of your book, or else the Six Articles.

Likewise concerning private masses, the law of Six Articles far differeth from the Canon of the Apostles, and from the Councils Nicene and Antioch, as shall be declared in the next Article.

Other things there be divers also in the Six Articles, which cannot stand with sundry old canons, decrees, and councils. So that if you will stand to the canons, decrees, and councils, you must of force be constrained utterly to put out of your book your second Article, which requireth the usage of the Six Articles. But now for shortness of time I will come to your third Article, which is this:

The third Article:

We will have the Mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him.

III.

Forasmuch as there is nothing with you but 'will,' let your will be conferred with reason and God's word; and then you shall see how far your will differeth from them both. First, as touching the Latin masses, whatsoever the

priest saith in the old masses, whether he pray and ask any thing of God, or give thanks to God, or make the true profession of the faith, or whatsoever he doth beside, all he doth in your persons and in your names; and you answer unto that which he saith, sometime 'Amen,' sometime 'Et cum spiritu tuo,' and sometime other things, as the matter serveth. For all the whole that is done, should be the action of the people and pertain to the people, as well as to the priest. And standeth it with reason, that the priest should speak for you, and in your name, and you answer him again in your own persons; and yet you understand never a word, neither what he saith, nor what you say yourselves? The priest prayeth to God for you, and you answer 'Amen,' you wot not whereto. Is there any reason herein? Will you not understand what the priest prayeth for you, what thanks he giveth for you, what he asketh for you? Will you neither understand what he saith, nor let your hearts understand what your own tongues answer? Then must you needs confess yourselves to be such people as Christ spake of, when he said, *These people honour me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me.* Had you rather be like pies or parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, than be true Christian men, that pray unto God in heart and in faith? The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause, and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know, what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attornies have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended, that the priests, which pleadeth your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand? If you were before the King's Highness, and should choose one to speak for you all, I am sure you would not choose one that should speak Greek or Hebrew, French or Italian; no, nor one that should speak Latin neither. But you would be glad to provide such one as should speak your own language, and speak so loud, that you might both hear him, and under-

stand him; that you might allow or disallow that that he said in your names. Why do you then refuse to do the like unto God?

When the priest desireth any thing of God for you, or giveth thanks for you, how can you in your heart confirm his sayings, when you know not one word what he saith? For the heart is not moved with words that be not understood.

But if reason will not persuade you, I will prove what God's word will do unto you. St. Paul, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, saith, that whosoever shall speak to the people in the church to their edification, must speak such language as the people may understand; or else he willet him to hold his peace, and speak softly to himself and to God. For he that speaketh a strange language which the people understand not, doth not edify them, as St. Paul saith. And he giveth an example of the trumpet in the field, which when it giveth such a sound that the soldiers understand, then it availeth much. For every soldier thereby knoweth what to do. But if such a blast be blown as no man understandeth, then the blast is utterly in vain; for no man knoweth thereby, whether the horsemen shall make them ready, or leap upon horseback, or go to their standard; or whether the footmen shall make them ready, or set themselves in array, or set upon the enemy, or retire to the standard. Even so should the priests be God's trump in his Church. So that if he blow such a certain blast that the people may understand, they be much edified thereby; but if he give such a sound as is to the people unknown, it is clearly in vain, saith St. Paul. For he speaketh to the air, but no man is the better or edified thereby; nor knoweth what he should do by that he heareth. Furthermore in the same place St. Paul saith, that if a man giveth thanks to God in a language to the people unknown, how can they say 'Amen' to that they understand not? He doth well in giving thanks to God; but that nothing availeth or edifieth the people, that know not what he saith. And St. Paul in one brief sentence concludeth his whole disputation of that

matter, saying: *I had rather have five words spoken in the church to the instruction and edifying of the people, than ten thousand in a language unknown, that edifieth not.* And for this purpose St. Paul allegeth the prophet Esay, who saith : that *God will speak to his people in other tongues, and in other languages:* meaning thereby, that he would speak to every country in their own language. So have the Greeks the Mass in the Greek tongue, the Syrians in the Syry tongue, the Armenians in their tongue, and the Indians in their own tongue. And be you so much addict to the Romish tongue, (which is the Latin tongue,) that you will have your Mass in none other language but the Romish language? Christ himself used among the Jews the Jews' language, and willed his apostles to do the like in every country wheresoever they came. And be you such enemies to your own country, that you will not suffer us to laud God, to thank him, and to use his sacraments in our own tongue ; but will inforce things contrary, as well to all reason, as to the word of God ?

So many as either be godly, or have reason, will be satisfied with this. But the mere papists will be satisfied with nothing. Wherefore I will no longer tarry to satisfy them that never will be satisfied, but will proceed to the second part of this Article, wherein you say that you will have neither man nor woman communicate with the priest. Alas ! good simple souls, how be you blinded with the papists ! How contrary be your Articles one to another ! You say in your first Article, that you will have all general councils and decrees observed, and now you go from them yourselves. You say, you will have nobody to communicate with the priest. Hear then, what divers canons, decrees, and general councils say clean against you. There is one decree which saith thus, " When the consecration is done, let all the " people receive the communion, except they will be put " out of the Church." And in the Canons of the Apostles, in the eighth chapter, is contained, " That whensoever there " is any mass or communion, if any bishop, priest, deacon, " or any other of the clergy, being there present, do not

“communicate, except he can shew some reasonable cause
“to the contrary, he shall be put out of the communion,
“as one that giveth occasion to the people to think evil of
“the ministers.” And in the ninth chapter of the same
Canons of the Apostles, and in the General Council held at
Antioch, is thus written; “That all Christian people that
“come into the church, and hear the holy Scriptures read,
“and after will not tarry to pray, and to receive the holy
“communion with the rest of the people, but for some
“misordering of themselves will abstain therefrom, let them
“be put out of the Church, until by humble knowledging
“of their fault, and by the fruits of penance, and prayers,
“they obtain pardon and forgiveness.” And the Council
Nicene also sheweth the order, how men should sit in receiving
the communion, and who should receive first. All these
decrees and general councils utterly condemn your third Article,
wherein you will, that the priest shall receive the communion
alone, without any man or woman communicating with him.
And the whole Church of Christ also, both Greeks and Latins,
many hundred years after Christ and the apostles, do also
condemn this your Article; which ever received the communion
in flocks and numbers together, and not the priest alone.

And beside this, the very words of the Mass, (as it is called,) show plainly, that it was ordained not only for the priest,
but for other also to communicate with the priest. For in the very Canon,
which they so much extol, and which is so holy that no man may know what it is,
and therefore is read so softly that no man can hear it, in that same Canon, I say, is a prayer containing this; that “not
“only the priest, but also as many beside as communicate
“with him, may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction.”
How agreeth this prayer with your Article, wherein you say, that
neither man nor woman shall communicate with the priest? In another
place also of the said Canon, the priest prayeth for himself, and “for
all that receive the communion with him, that it may be a preparation
for them unto everlasting life.” Which prayer were but a

very fond prayer, and a very mocking with God, if nobody should communicate with the priest. And the communion concludes with two prayers made in the name of the priest and them that communicate with him, wherein they pray thus: "O Lord, that thing which we have taken in our mouth, let us take it also with pure mind, that this communion may purge us from our sins, and make us partakers of heavenly remedy." And beside all this, there be an infinite sort of post-communions in the Mass-Books; which all do evidently show, that in the masses the people did communicate with the priest.

And although I would exhort every good Christian man often to receive the holy communion, yet I do not recite all these things to the intent, that I would in this corrupt world (when men live so ungodly as they do) that the old canons should be restored again, which commanded every man present to receive the communion with the priest. Which canons, if they were now used, I fear that many would receive it unworthily. But I speak them to condemn your Article, which would have nobody, neither man nor woman, to be communicated with the priest. Which your Article condemneth the old decrees, canons, and general councils, condemneth all the old primitive Church, all the old ancient holy doctors and martyrs and all the forms and manner of masses that ever were made, both new and old. Therefore eat again this Article, if you will not be condemned of the whole world, and of yourselves also by your first Article; wherein you will all decrees and general councils to be observed. But forasmuch as I have been too tedious in this Article, I will endeavour myself to be shorter in the next.

Your fourth Article is this:

- IV. We will have the Sacrament hang over the high altar, and there to be worshipped, as it was wont to be; and they which will not thereto consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy catholic faith.

What say you, O ignorant people in things pertaining to

God? Is this the holy catholic faith, that the Sacrament should be hanged over^c the altar and worshipped? and be they heretics that will not consent thereto? I pray you, who made this faith? Any other but the Bishops of Rome? and that more than a thousand years after the faith of Christ was full and perfect. Innocent III, about 1215 years after Christ, did ordain that the Sacrament and Chrism should be kept under lock and key. But yet no motion he made of hanging the Sacrament over the high altar, nor of the worshipping of it. After him came Honorius III, and he added further, commanding that the Sacrament should be devoutly kept in a clean place, and sealed, and that the priests should often teach the people reverently to bow down to the host, when it was lifted up in the mass time, and when the priest should carry it to the sick folks. And although this Honorius added the worshipping of the Sacrament, yet he made no mention of the hanging thereof over the high altar, as your Article purporteth. Nor how long after, or by what means, that came first up into this realm, I think no man can tell; and in Italy it is not yet used until this day. And in the beginning of the Church it was not only not used to be hanged up, but also it was utterly forbid to be kept.

And will you have all them that will not consent to your Article, to die, like heretics that hold against the catholic faith? Were the apostles and evangelists heretics? Were the martyrs and confessors heretics? Were all the old doctors of the Church heretics? Were all Christian people heretics, until within three or four hundred years last past, that the Bishops of Rome taught them what they should do and believe? All they before rehearsed neither hanged the Sacrament over the altar, neither worshipped it, nor not one of them all spake any one word, either of the hanging up, or worshipping of the Sacrament. Mary, they speak very much of the worshipping of Christ himself, sitting in heaven at the right hand of his Father. And no man doth duly receive the Sacrament, except he so, after that manner, do

• ^c [See Queries on the Mass, p. 179.]

worship Christ, whom he spiritually receiveth, spiritually feedeth and nourisheth upon, and by whom spiritually he liveth, and continueth that life that is towards God. And this the Sacrament teacheth us.

Now to knit up this Article shortly. Here is the issue of this matter: that you must either condemn of heresy the apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, and all the holy Church of Christ, until the time of Innocentius and Honorius, because they hanged not the Sacrament over the altar to be worshipped; or else you must be condemned yourselves by your own Article, to die like heretics against the holy catholic faith. Now to your fifth Article.

Your fifth Article is this:

- V. We will have the Sacrament of the Altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind.

Methinks you be like a man, that were brought up in a dark dungeon, that never saw light, nor knew nothing that is abroad in the world: and if a friend of his, pitying his ignorance and state, would bring him out of his dungeon, that he might see the light and come to knowledge, he being from his youth used to darkness, could not abide the light, but would wilfully shut his eyes, and be offended both with the light, and with his friend also. A most godly prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII, our late sovereign Lord, pitying to see his subjects many years so brought up in darkness, and ignorance of God, by the erroneous doctrine and traditions of the Bishop of Rome, with the counsel of all his nobles and learned men, studied by all means, and that to his no little danger and charges, to bring you out of your said ignorance and darkness unto the true light, and knowledge of God's word. And our most dread sovereign Lord that now is, succeeding his father, as well in this godly intent, as in his realms and dominions, hath with no less care and diligence studied to perform his father's godly intent and purpose. And you, like men that wilfully shutteth their own eyes, refuse to receive the light, saying that you

will still remain in your darkness. Or rather you be like men that be so far wandered out of the right way, that they can never come to it again without good and expert guides : and yet when the guides would tell them the truth, they would not be ordered by them, but would say unto them, We will have and follow our own ways.

And that you may understand how far you be wandered from the right way in this one Article, wherein you will have the Sacrament of the Altar delivered to the lay-people but once in the year, and then but under one kind, be you assured, that there was never such law nor such request made among Christian people until this day. What injury do you to many godly persons, which would devoutly receive it many times, and you command the priest to deliver it them but at Easter ? All learned and godly men have exhorted Christian people, (although they have not commanded them,) often to receive the communion. And in the apostles' time, the people at Jerusalem received it every day, as it appeareth by the manifest word of the Scripture. And after, they received it in some places every day : in some places four times in the week : in some three times : some twice : and commonly every where at the least once in the week. In the beginning, when men were most godly and most fervent in the Holy Spirit, then they received the communion daily. But when the Spirit of God began to be more cold in men's hearts, and they waxed more worldly than godly, then their desire was not so hot to receive the communion as it was before. And ever from time to time, as the world waxed more wicked, the more the people withdrew themselves from the holy communion. For it is so holy a thing, and the threatenings of God be so sore against them that come thereto unworthily, that an ungodly man abhorreth it, and not without cause dare in no wise approach thereunto. But to them that live godly, it is the greatest comfort that in this world can be imagined. And the more godly a man is, the more sweetness and spiritual pleasure and desire he shall have often to receive it. And will you be so ungodly to command the priest, that he shall not deliver it to him

but at Easter, and then but only in one kind; when Christ ordained both the kinds, as well for the laymen as for the priests; and that to be eaten and drunken at all times?

What enemies be you to all laymen, and to yourselves also, to refuse to drink of Christ's cup, which he commanded all men to drink upon, saying, *Take and divide this among you*; and, *Drink ye all of it*?

But what need any more be brought for the reprovng of this Article, than your own first Article, where you will have kept all decrees and councils? Now in the decrees, *De Consecrat.* dist. 2. there is one decree that commandeth all men to receive the communion at the least thrice in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. Another commandeth every man to receive the same upon Shere-Thursday. The Council Agathense saith, that all laymen which receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, shall not be taken for catholics. And the decree of Gelasius saith, that the receiving under one kind is great sacrilege. Then by your first Article you do not only condemn this your fifth Article, but also you show yourselves not to be catholics, except you receive the communion at the least three times in the year, and that under both the kinds: which is clean repugnant to this Article. And yet I pray God, you may receive it worthily once in your life; which you shall never do, except you wonderfully repent this your misbehaviour: and all your life-time study to amend and redress that you have now offended. Now to your sixth Article.

Your sixth Article is this:

- VI. We will that our curates shall minister the Sacrament of Baptism at all times, as well in the weekday as on the holyday.

Who letteth your ministers to baptize your children every day, if any cause of necessity so do require? But commonly it is more convenient, that Baptism should not be ministered, but upon the holyday, when the most number of people be

together. As well for that the whole Church of Christ there present may rejoice together of the receiving of new members of Christ into the same Church, as also, that all men being present may remember and the better know, what they promised themselves by their godfathers and godmothers in their own baptism; and be the more earnestly stirred in their hearts to perform the same: and also, may altogether pray for them that be baptized, that they may have grace to perform their profession. St. Greg. Nazianzene, as great a clerk as ever was in Christ's Church, and master to St. Hierom, counselled, that children should not be christened until they came to three years of age or thereabout, except they were in danger of life. And it was thought sufficient to our forefathers to be done two times in the year, at Easter and Whitsuntide; as it appeareth by divers of their councils and decrees^c, which forbid Baptism to be ministered at any other time than Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity. And there remained lately divers signs and tokens thereof. For every Easter and Whitsun-even until this time, the fonts were hallowed in every church, and many collects and other prayers were read for them that were baptized. But all was in vain, and as it were a mocking with God. For none were baptized at those times, except it were by chance, but all were baptized before. For as Vigils, otherwise called watchings, remained in the calendars upon certain saints' evens, because in old times the people watched all those nights; (and Vigilantius, because he spake against these watchings, was condemned of heresy;) but now these many years those Vigils remained in vain in the books, for no man did watch; even so until this day, the order and form of christening was read and kept every year at Easter and Whitsuntide, but none was then christened. Wherein it appeareth how far we be swerved from our forefathers.

And, to conclude this Article shortly, if you will needs

^c *De Consecr.* dist. 4. "Non ratione." "Duo." "Proprie." "Siquis." "De Catechumenis." "Siqui." "Venerabilis." "Baptizandi."

have Baptism ministered no more at one time than another, then must you needs renounce your first Article; which willeth the councils and decrees of the forefathers to be observed and kept. And this briefly sufficeth for the sixth Article.

Your seventh Article is this :

- VII. We will have holy bread and holy water made every Sunday ; palms and ashes at the times accustomed ; images to be set up again in every church ; and all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy Church.

O, superstition and idolatry ! how they prevail among you ! The very true heavenly bread, the food of everlasting life, offered unto you in the sacrament of the holy communion, you refuse to eat, but only at Easter ; and the cup of the most holy blood, wherewith you were redeemed and washed from your sins, you refuse utterly to drink of at any time. And yet in the stead of these you will eat often of the unsavoury and poisoned bread of the Bishop of Rome, and drink of his stinking puddles, which he nameth holy bread and holy water. Consider, O ignorant people, the authors, and intents of the makers of them both ! The water of baptism, and the holy bread and wine of the holy communion, none other person did ordain, but Christ himself. The other that is called holy bread, holy water, holy ashes, holy palms, and all other like ceremonies, ordained the Bishops of Rome, adversaries to Christ, and therefore rightly called Antichrists. And Christ ordained his bread, his wine, and his water, to our great comfort, to instruct us and teach us, what things we have only by him. But Antichrist on the other side hath set up his superstitions under the name of holiness, to none other intent, but as the Devil seeketh all means to draw us from Christ, so doth Antichrist advance his holy superstitions, to the intent that we should take him in the stead of Christ, and believe that we have by him such things as we have only by Christ, that is to say, spiritual food, remission of our sins, and salvation.

First, Our Saviour Christ ordained that water of bap-

tism to signify unto us, that as that water washeth our bodies outwardly, so be we spiritually within washed by Christ from all our sins. And as the water is called water of regeneration or new birth, so it declareth unto us, that through Christ we be born anew, and begin a new life towards God, and that Christ is the beginning of this new life. And as the body that is new born, although it have life within it, yet can it not continue without meat and drink : even so can we not continue in the spiritual life towards God, except we be continually nourished with spiritual food. And that spiritual food is Christ also. For as he is the first beginning of our spiritual life, so is he the continuance and ending thereof. And for this cause did Christ ordain in the holy communion, to be eaten bread, and drunken wine, that we should surely believe, that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine in these holy mysteries, so be we out of doubt that our souls be fed spiritually with the lively food of Christ's body and blood ; whereby we have remission of our sins and salvation. But the Bishop of Rome invented new devices of his own making, and by them promised remission of sins and salvation, that he might be set up and honoured for a saviour equal to Christ ; and so to be esteemed above all creatures, and to sit in the temple of God, that is to say, in the Church of Christ, as he were God.

And to bring this to pass, he hath horribly abused holy Scriptures, altering them to his purpose, in the stead of Christ's most holy blood, putting in his holy water. As it appeareth evidently in this sentence of St. Paul written in the ninth chapter to the Hebrews : *If the blood of oxen and goats, saith St. Paul, and the ashes of a young cow purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh, how much more the blood of Christ (which through the eternal Spirit offered himself being without spot unto God) shall purge your consciences from dead works, for to serve the living God. And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new testament.* Consider well this sentence of Paul, and you shall find two purifyings, one of the body, and another of the soul or conscience. You shall find also two media-

tors: one was the priest of Moses' law, and the other is Christ. The priests of the old law, with the blood of oxen and goats, and other their sacrifices, purged only the bodies of them that were defiled, but the soul or conscience they could not help. But our Saviour Christ by his own blood purged both body and soul. And for that cause he, and none other, is the Mediator of the new testament. But the Bishop of Rome, to make himself also a mediator with Christ, hath taken upon him to purify the soul and conscience with holy water, holy salt, and other his holy creatures of his own devising, to the intolerable injury of Christ's blood, which only hath the effect. And to bring this to pass, he hath most shamefully changed the words of the Scripture, and wrested them to his purpose: some words putting out, and also in the stead of Christ's blood, putting in his own holy water and salt. For whereas St. Paul saith: *If the blood of oxen and goats and the ashes of a cow purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh*: here the Bishop of Rome leaveth out these words, *as touching the purifying of the flesh*. And where St. Paul, extolling the effect of Christ's blood in comparison of the blood of oxen and goats, saith: *How much more the blood of Christ, which through the eternal Spirit offered himself being without spot unto God, shall purge your consciences*: here the Bishop of Rome, extolling his water and salt putteth out Christ's blood, and in the place thereof putteth his holy water and salt; saying, "How much more water, which is "sprinkled with salt and hallowed with godly prayers, shall "sanctify and purify the people." O intolerable blasphemy against the most precious blood of Christ! O shameless audacity and boldness, so to corrupt and pervert God's holy word! If he by his holy water presume to purify our souls, as Christ did by his blood, what is that else, but to make himself equal, and another mediator with Christ? And what is it to tread under his foot the Son of God, and to make the blood of the new testament (whereby we be sanctified) like other common things, and to dishonour the Spirit of grace, if this be not? And yet not con-

tented with this blaspheming of the blood of Christ, he preferreth his holy creatures far above the blood of Christ, promising by them many benefits, which by the blood of Christ be not promised. For in the same place he promiseth by his holy ceremonies to take away from us dearth and scarcity of all worldly things, and to multiply and increase us with the same. Also to defend us from the assaults of the Devil, and all his deceits, and to give us health both of body and soul. But all men see him so shamefully to lie in these worldly things, that no man that wise is, will trust him in the rest. Nor no man that is godly will desire such things to remain still, which so much have deceived simple people, and dishonoured God, and been contumelious to the blood of Christ.

But now to your images, which, you say, you will have set up again in every church. What moved you to require this Article, but only ignorance? For if you had known the laws of God, and the use of godly religion, as well before the incarnation of Christ, as four or five hundred years next after, and by whom images were first brought into Christ's church, and how much idolatry was every where committed by the means of the same, it could not have been that ever you would have desired this Article, except you had more affection to idolatry than to true religion. For Almighty God, among the Ten Commandments rehearsed this for the second, as one of the chief: *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.* This commandment was diligently kept in the Old Testament, so long as the people pleased God. For in their tabernacle was not one image, less nor more, that the people might see. Although upon the Propitiatory were set two cherubins of gold by the commandment of God. And that was in such a place as the people never came, nor saw them. But when the people forgetting this commandment began to make them images, and to set them up in the place of adoration, by and by they provoked God's in-

dignation against them, and were grievously punished therefore.

The Church of Christ likewise in the New Testament, for the space of four or five hundred years after Christ's ascension, utterly refused to have images in the church, a place of adoration. As it may plainly appear by all the old ancient authors that lived and wrote in that time. So much, that above four hundred years after Christ when some superstitious and ignorant people in some places began to bring painted images, not into the church, but to the church doors, the great clerk Epiphanius, Bishop at Cyprus, finding such a painted image of Christ or some other saint, hanging at the church door in a town called Anablatha, he cut it in pieces, saying, that "it was against the authority of Scripture, that in the church of Christ should hang the image of a man." And the same Epiphanius wrote unto the Bishop of Jerusalem, that he should command the priests, that in no wise they should suffer such images to be hanged in the church of Christ, which were contrary to our religion.

But peradventure you will marvel, and ask me the question, how it was brought to pass, that of late years all churches were so full of images, and so much offering and pilgrimages done unto them, if it were against the commandment of God, against the usage of all godly people in the Old Testament, and also against the custom of Christ's Church in the New Testament, so long as it was pure and holy, and kept from idolatry? Who was able to bring this to effect, contrary both to God's express commandment, and the custom of all godly people from the beginning of the world, until four or five hundred years after Christ? No man surely could have wrought this thing so much contrary to God, but Antichrist himself, that is to say, the Bishop of Rome. To whom God hath given great power to work great wonders, to bring into error those that will not believe the truth. But by what means did he compass this matter? By such means as was most meet for himself, and as he hath commonly practised in all other matters: that is to

say, by sedition and murder, by confederacies and persecutions, by raising the son against the father, the childre against their mother, and the subjects against their rulers; by deposing of emperors and princes, and murdering of learned men, saints, and martyrs. For thus he wrought against the empire of the east parties from Gregory II.'s time, until Gregory III; who at length, after this contention had endured above five hundred years, in a council held at Lyons, by feigned promises persuaded the emperor of the east to condescend to his purpose, as well to receive images into the churches, as to other his requests. But nevertheless the Bishop of Rome failed of his purpose. For yet to this day the Christian men in the east do not allow images to stand in their churches; neither the Greeks, nor the Armenians, nor the Indians, nor none other Christian men. And, (that more is,) search all the world throughout, of what religion soever they be, whether they be Jews, Turks, Saracens, Tartaries, or Christian people, and you shall not find an image in none of their churches, but that was brought in by the Bishop of Rome, and where the Bishop of Rome is or within these forty years was taken for the head of the Church, and Christ's vicar in earth.

And at the beginning the Bishops of Rome, to cloak their idolatry, pretended to have images set up only for a remembrance to laymen, and to be, as it were, laymen's books. But after, they defined plainly that they should be worshipped. And so it increased at length, that images were kneeled unto, offered unto, prayed unto, sought unto, incensed, and pilgrimages done unto them, and all manner of superstition and idolatry that could be devised. Almighty God knoweth our corrupt nature better than we do ourselves. He knoweth well the inclination of man, how much he is given to worship creatures and the works of his own hands: and specially fond women, which commonly follow superstition rather than true religion. And therefore he utterly forbad the people the use of graven images; specially in places dedicated to the honour of God, know-

ing assuredly, that of the having would follow the worshipping of them.

Now, (thanks be to God,) in this realm, we be clearly delivered from that kind of idolatry, (which most highly offended God,) and we do according to the council Elbertyne, which ordained that no images should be in churches. And this council is so ancient, that it was about the same year that Nicene council was. What should then move you to ask again your images in the church, being not only against God's commandments, and the use of God's Church evermore, since the beginning of the world, when it was pure from idolatry, but also being chargeable to the realm, and great occasion of heinous idolatry; but that some papistical and covetous priests have persuaded you hereto? Which care neither for God's dishonour, nor your damnation: so that they may have any commodity or profit thereby.

I have been very long in this Article, and yet the matter is so large, that it requireth much more to be spoken therein, which for shortness of time I am constrained to leave, until a more occasion; and to come to your eighth Article.

Your eighth Article is this:—

VIII. We will not receive the new Service, because it is but like a Christmas game: but we will have our old Service of Matins, Mass, Even-song, and Procession in Latin, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men (whereof certain of us understand no English) utterly refuse this new English.

As concerning the having of the Service in the Latin tongue, is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to your third Article. But I would gladly know the reason, why you Cornish men refuse utterly the new English, as you call it, because certain of you understand it not: and yet you will have the Service in Latin, which almost none of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwall to refuse the English Service, because some of them understand none English, a much greater cause have they, both of Cornwall

and Devonshire, to refuse utterly the Latin Service; forasmuch as fewer of them know the Latin tongue, than of Cornwall the English tongue. But where you say, that you will have the old Service, because the new is "like a Christmas game," you declare yourselves what spirit you be led withal, or rather what spirit leadeth them that persuaded to you, that the word of God is but like a Christmas game. It is more like a game and a fond play to be laughed at of all men, to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latin, and the people listen with their ears to hear, and some walking up and down in the church, saying other prayers in Latin, and none understandeth other. Neither the priest nor the parish wot what they say. And many times the thing that the priest saith in Latin is so fond of itself, that it is more like a play than a godly prayer.

But in the English Service appointed to be read, is there nothing else but the eternal word of God, the New and the Old Testament, the word that hath power to save your souls: which, as St. Paul saith, *is the power of God to the salvation of all that believe*: the clear light to our eyes, without the which we cannot see; and a lantern unto our feet, without which we should stumble in darkness. It is in itself the wisdom of God, and yet *to the Jews it is a stumblingblock, and to the Gentiles it is but foolishness. But to such as be called of God, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, it is the power of God, and the wisdom of God.* Then unto you if it be but foolishness and a Christmas game, you may discern yourselves what miserable state you be in, and how far you be from God. For St. Paul saith plainly, that the word of God is foolishness only to them that perish: but to them that shall be saved it is God's might and power. To some it is a lively savour unto life, and to some it is a deadly savour unto death. If it be to you but a Christmas game, it is then a savour of death unto death. And surely persuade yourselves, that you be not led with the Spirit of God, so long as the word of God savoureth no better to you, but seemeth unto you a

Christmas pastime, and foolishness. And therefore the old Service pleaseth you better. Which in many things is so foolish and so ungodly, that it seems rather to be old wives' tales and lies, than to sound to any godliness. The Devil is a liar, and the author of lies: and they may think themselves governed rather of his spirit than of God, when lies delight more than God's most true word.

But this I judge rather of your leaders than of yourselves; who by ignorance be carried away by other you wot not whither. For when the Service was in the Latin tongue, which you understood not, they might read to you truths or fables, godly or ungodly things, as they pleased: for you could not judge that you understood not. And that was the cause why St. Paul would have such languages spoken in the church as the people might understand: that they might learn and be edified thereby, and judge of that which should be spoken, whether it were according to God's word or not.

But forasmuch as you understood not the old Latin Service, I shall rehearse some things in English, which were wont to be read in Latin, that when you understand them, you may judge them, whether they seem to be true tales, or fables; and whether they or God's word seem to be more like plays and Christmas games. The Devil entered into a certain person; in whose mouth St. Martin put his finger. And because the Devil could not get out at his mouth, the man blew him or cacked him out behind. This is one of the tales that was wont to be read in the Latin Service, that you will needs have again. As though the Devil had a body, and that so crass, that he could not pass out by the small pores of the flesh, but must needs have a wide hole to go out at. Is this a grave and godly matter to be read in the church, or rather a foolish Christmas tale, or an old wives' fable, worthy to be laughed at and scorned of every man that hath either wit or godly judgment? Yet more foolish, erroneous, and superstitious things be read in the feasts of St. Blase, St. Valentine, St. Margaret, St. Peter, of the Visitation of our Lady, and the

Conception, of the Transfiguration of Christ, and in the feast of Corpus Christi; and a great number mo. Whereof some be most vain fables, some very superstitious, some directly against God's word, and the laws of this realm: and all together be full of error and superstition. But as Christ commonly excused the simple people, because of their ignorance, and justly condemned the Scribes and Pharisees, which by their crafty persuasions led the people out of the right way: so I think not you so much to be blamed, as those Pharisees and papistical priests, which, abusing your simplicity, caused you to ask you wist not what, desiring rather to drink of the dregs of corrupt error, which you knew not, than of the pure and sweet wine of God's word, which you may and ought to understand. But now have I sufficiently spoken of your eighth Article; I will go forward unto the ninth.

Your ninth Article is this:

We will have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at his Mass, pray especially by name for the souls in Purgatory, as our forefathers did.

IX.

To reason with you by learning which be unlearned, it were but folly; therefore I will convince your Article with very reason. First, tell me, I pray you, if you can, whether there be a Purgatory or no: and where, or what it is. And if you cannot tell, then I may tell you, that you ask you wot not what. The Scripture maketh mention of two places, where the dead be received after this life, of Heaven and of Hell; but of Purgatory is not one word spoken. Purgatory was wont to be called a fire as hot as Hell, but not so long during. But now the defenders of Purgatory within this realm be ashamed so to say: nevertheless they say it is a third place, but where or what it is, they confess themselves they cannot tell. And of God's word they have nothing to show, neither where it is, nor what it is, nor that it is. But all is feigned of their own brain without authority of Scripture.

I would ask of them then, wherefore it is, and to what

use it serveth. For if it be to none use, then it is a thing frustrate and in vain. Mary, say they, it is a place of punishment, whereby they be purged from their sins that depart out of this life not fully purged before. I cannot tell whether this saying be more foolishness, or more contumelious to Christ. For what can be more foolish than to say that pains can wash sins out of the soul. I do not deny but correction and punishment in this life is a calling of men to repentance and amendment; and so to be purged by the blood of Christ. But correction without repentance can nothing avail: and they that be dead be past the time of repentance, and so no correction or torments in Purgatory can avail them. And how great a contumely and injury is this to Christ, to affirm that all they have not full and perfect purgation by his blood, that die in his faith? Is not all our trust in the blood of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed thereby? And will you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the Pope's Purgatory to be washed therein: thinking that Christ's blood is an imperfect lee or soap that washeth not clean? If he shall die without mercy that treadeth Christ's blood under his feet, what is treading of his blood under our feet, if this be not? But if according to the catholic faith which the holy Scripture teacheth, and the prophets, apostles, and martyrs confirmed with their blood, all the faithful that die in the Lord be pardoned of all their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly sponged and washed away by his blood, shall they after be cast into another strong and grievous prison of Purgatory, there to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? God hath promised by his word that the souls of the just be in God's hand, and no pain shall touch them: and again he saith: *Blessed be they that die in the Lord. For the Spirit of God saith, that from henceforth they shall rest from their pains.* And Christ himself saith: *He that believeth in him that sent me hath everlasting life, and shall not come to judgment, but shall pass from death unto life.* And is God no truer of his promise, but to punish that which he

promiseth to pardon? Consider the matter by your own cases. If the King's Majesty should pardon your offences, and after would cast you into prison, would you think that he had well observed his promise? For what is to pardon your offences, but to pardon the punishment for the same? If the King would punish you, would you take that for a pardon? Would you not allege your pardon, and say that you ought not to be punished? Who can then, that hath but a crumb of reason in his head, imagine of God, that he will after our death punish those things that he pardoned in our life-time?

Truth it is, that Scripture maketh mention of Paradise and Abraham's bosom after this life; but those be places of joy and consolation, not of pains and torments. But yet I know what subtle sophisters use to mutter in men's ears to deceive them withal. David, they say, with many other, was pardoned of his offences, and yet were they sore punished after for the same of God; and some of them so long as they lived. Well, be it it were so. Yet, after their lives, they were not punished in Purgatory therefore. But the end of their lives was the end of their punishment. And likewise it is of original sin after baptism, which although it be pardoned, yet certain pains thereof continue so long as we live. But this punishment in our life-time is not to revenge our original sin, which is pardoned in baptism; but to make us humble, penitent, obedient to God, fearful to offend, to know ourselves, and ever to stand in fear and awe. As if a father, that hath beaten a wilful child for his faults, should hang the rod continually at the child's girdle, it should be no small pain and grief to the child, ever hanging by his side. And yet the father doth it not to beat the child for that which is past and forgiven; but to make him beware hereafter that he offend not again, and to be gentle, tractable, obedient, and loath to do any thing amiss. But after this life there is no such cause of punishment: where no rod nor whip can force any man to go any faster or farther, being already at the end of his journey. Likewise a master that hath an unthrifty servant, which out of his

master's sight doth nothing but riot and disorder himself, if he forgive his servant, and for the love he beareth to him, and the desire he hath to see him corrected and reformed, he will command him never to be out of his sight; this commandment, although indeed it be a great pain to the servant, yet the master doth it, not to punish those faults which before he had pardoned and forgiven, but to keep him in stay, that he fall no mo to like disorder. But these examples and cases of punishment here in this life, can in no wise be wrested and drawn to the life to come. And so in no wise can serve for Purgatory.

And furthermore, seeing that the Scriptures so often and so diligently teach us, almost in every place, to relieve all them that be in necessity, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and the prisoners, to comfort the sorrowful; and so to all other that have need of our help: and the same in no place maketh mention either of such pains in Purgatory, or what comfort we may do them; it is certain that the same is feigned for lucre, and not grounded upon God's word. For else the Scripture in some place would have told us plainly what case they stood in that be in Purgatory, and what relief and help we might do unto them. But forasmuch as God's word speaketh not one word of neither of them both, my counsel shall be, that you keep not the Bishop of Rome's decrees that you may come to Purgatory, but keep God's laws that you may come to Heaven. Or else I promise you assuredly that you shall never escape Hell. Now to your next Article.

Your tenth Article is this:

- X. We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English to be called in again. For we be informed, that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.

Alas! it grieveth me to hear your Articles; and much I rue and lament your ignorance, praying God most earnestly once to lighten your eyes, that you may see his truth. What Christian heart would not be grieved to see you so ignorant, (for willingly and wilfully, I trust, you do it not,)

that you refuse Christ, and join yourselves with Antichrist. You refuse the holy Bible and all holy Scriptures so much, that you will have them called in again; and the Bishop of Rome's decrees you will have advanced and observed. I may well say to you as Christ said to Peter, *Turn back again, for you savour not godly things.* As many of you as understand no Latin cannot know God's word but in English, except it be the Cornish men, which cannot understand likewise none but their own speech. Then you must be content to have it in English which you know, or else you must confess, that you refuse utterly the knowledge thereof. And wherefore did the Holy Ghost come down among the apostles in fiery tongues, and gave them knowledge of all languages, but that all nations might hear, speak, and learn God's word in their mother tongue? And can you name me any Christian nation in all the world, but they have, and ever have had, God's word in their own tongue? And the Jews, to whom God gave his Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue, after their long captivity among the Chaldees, so that mo of them knew the Chaldee than the Hebrew tongue; they caused the Scripture to be turned into the Chaldee tongue, that they might understand it: which until this day is called Targum. And Ptolemy, King of Egypt, caused sixty of the greatest clerks that might be gotten, to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew into Greek. And until this day the Greeks have it in the Greek tongue; the Latins in the Latin tongue, and all other nations in their own tongue. And will you have God farther from us than from all other countries: that he shall speak to every man in his own language, that he understandeth and was born in, and to us shall speak a strange language that we understand not? And will you, that all other realms shall laud God in their own speech, and we shall say to him we know not what?

Although you savour so little of godliness, that you list not to read his word yourselves, you ought not to be so malicious and envious to let them that be more godly, and would gladly read it to their comfort and edification. And if

there be an English heretic, how will you have him confuted but in English? And whereby else, but by God's word? Then it followeth, that to confute English heretics, we must needs have God's word in English, as all other nations have it in their own native language. St. Paul to the Ephesians teacheth all men, as well laymen as priests, to arm themselves, and to fight against all adversaries with God's word; without the which we cannot be able to prevail, neither against subtle heretics, puissant devils, this deceitful world, nor our own sinful flesh. And therefore, until God's word came to light, the Bishop of Rome, under the Prince of darkness, reigned quietly in the world: and his heresies were received and allowed for the true catholic faith. And it can none otherwise be, but that heresies must reign, where the light of God's word driveth not away our darkness.

Your eleventh Article is this:

- XI. We will have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin^a, which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us; and to them we require the King's Majesty to give some certain livings, to preach among us our catholic faith.

If you be of Moreman's and Crispin's faith, I like you much the worse. For "like lettuce, like lips." And to declare you plainly the qualities of Crispin and Moreman, and

^a ["Of Crispin I find little, but that he was once proctor of the "University of Oxon, and doctor of the faculty of physic, and of Oriel "College. Moreman was beneficed in Cornwall in king Henry's time, "and seemed to go along with that king in his steps of reformation, "and was observed to be the first that taught his parishioners the "Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English; "yet showing himself in the next king's reign a zealot for the old su- "perstitions. . . . In Queen Mary's time he was for his popish merits "preferred to be Dean of Exeter." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 186. But it may be doubted whether Strype has not confused Richard and Edmund Crispin, both of Oriel College, and both proctors of the University of Oxford. See Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* part i. pp. 32. 50. 71. 72. It appears by a letter from Ridley to Cranmer, that Moreman afterwards had the reputation of "perverting" Justice Hales. He bore a part in the warm debates between the protestants and papists in the convocation of Oct. 1553, and died, according to Wood, before Oct. 1554. See Foxe, *Acts &c.* vol. iii. pp. 20. 93. Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* part i. p. 46.]

how unmeet men they be to be your teachers, they be persons very ignorant in God's word; and yet thereto very wilful, crafty, and full of dissimulation. For if they were profoundly learned, and of sincere judgments, as they be not, they might be godly teachers of you. Or if they were not *toto* wilful and standing wholly in their own conceits, they might learn and be taught of other. But now they be so wilful that they will not learn, and so ignorant that they cannot teach, and so full of craft and hypocrisy, that they be able to deceive you all, and to lead you into error after themselves. So that if you ask them, you ask your own poison. Now if a man were in such a sickness, that he longed for poison, (as many diseases desire things most noyful unto them,) yet it were not the part of a good physician to give it unto them. No more is it the office of a most godly prince to give you such teachers, (although you long never so sore for them,) as he knoweth would corrupt you, feeding you rather with sour and unwholesome leaven of Romish pharisaical doctrine, than with the sweet, pure, and wholesome bread of God's heavenly word. And where you would have God's word in English destroyed, and Crispin and Moreman delivered unto you, you do even as the people of the Jews did; which cried out, that Christ might be crucified, and that Barabbas, the strong thief, might be delivered unto them.

Your twelfth Article is this :

We think it very meet, because the Lord Cardinal Pole is of the King's blood, that he should not only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted to be of the King's council.

XII.

In this Article I will answer no more but this, if ever any cardinal or legate were beneficial unto this realm, we may have some hope of some other to follow his steps. But if all that ever were in this realm were pernicious and hurtful unto the same, I know not why we should be with child to long for any mo. For by the experience of them that have been heretofore, we may conjecture of them that be to come. And I fear me, that Cardinal Pole would follow ra-

ther the old race of the rest, than to begin a better of himself. Surely I have read a book of his making, which whosoever shall read, if he have a true heart to our late sovereign lord King Henry VIII, or to this realm, he will judge Cardinal Pole neither worthy to dwell in this realm, nor yet to live. For he doth extend all his wits and eloquence in that book to persuade the Bishop of Rome, the Emperor, the French King, and all other princes, to invade this realm by force. And sure I am, that if you have him, you must have the Bishop of Rome also. For the Cardinal cannot be a subject, but where the other is his head. This sufficeth briefly to this Article.

Your thirteenth Article is this:

XIII. We will that no gentleman shall have any mo servants than one to wait upon him, except he may dispend one hundred mark land. And for every hundred mark we think it reasonable he should have a man.

Yet have you not foreseen one thing, you wise disposers of the commonwealth. For if a gentleman of an hundred mark land (who by your order must have but one servant, except he might spend two hundred marks) should send that one servant to London, you have not provided who shall wait upon him, until his servant come home again. Nor you have not provided, where every gentleman may have one servant that can do all things necessary for him. I fear me the most part of you that devised this Article, (whom I take to be loiterers and idle unthrifths,) if you should serve a gentleman, he should be fain to do all things himself, for any thing that you could or would do for him. But one thing methink very strange; for where much complaint is made of divers gentlemen, because they keep not houses, you provide by your order, that no gentleman shall keep house; but all shall sojourn with other men. For who can keep an household with one servant, or with two servants, after the rate of two hundred marks, or with three, after the rate of three hundred, and so upward? But here, it seemeth, you be very desirous to make gentlemen rich.

For after this proportion every gentleman may lay up clearly in his coffers at the least the one half of his yearly revenue, and much more.

But it was not for good mind that you bare to the gentlemen, that you devised this Article; but it appeareth plainly, that you devised it to diminish their strength, and to take away their friends, that you might command gentlemen at your pleasures. But you be much deceived in your account. For although by your appointment they lacked household servants, yet shall they not lack tenants and farmers. Which, if they do their duties, will be as assured to their lords as their own household servants. For of those lands which they have or hold of their lords they have their whole livings, for themselves, their wives, children, and servants. And for all these they attend their own business, and wait not upon their lords, but when they be called thereto. But the household servant, leaving all his own business, waiteth daily and continually upon his master's service: and for the same hath no more but meat and drink and apparel for himself only. So that all tenants and farmers, which know their duties, and be kind to their lords, will die and live with them, no less than their own household servants. Therefore I would wish you to put this phantasy out of your heads, and this Article out of your book, as well for the unreasonableness as for the ungodliness thereof.

For was it ever seen in any country since the world began, that the commons did appoint the nobles and gentlemen, the number of their servants? Standeth it with any reason to turn upso down the good order of the whole world, that is every where, and ever hath been? that is to say, the commoners to be governed by the nobles, and the servants by their masters. Will you have now the subjects to govern their king, the villains to rule the gentlemen, and the servants their masters? If men would suffer this, God will not; but will take vengeance of all them that will break his order; as he did of Dathan and Abiram: although for a time he be a God of much sufferance, and hideth his in-

dignation under his mercy ; that the evil of themselves may repent, and see their own folly.

Your fourteenth Article is this :

- XIV. We will that the half part of the abbey lands and chantry lands in every man's possession, howsoever he came by them, be given again to two places, where two of the chief abbeys was within every county : where such half part shall be taken out ; and there to be established a place for devout persons, which shall pray for the King and the Commonwealth. And to the same we will have all the alms of the church-box given for these seven years.

At the beginning you pretended, that you meant nothing against the King's Majesty, but now you open yourselves plainly to the world, that you go about to pluck the crown from his head, and against all justice and equity, not only to take from him such lands as be annexed unto his crown, and be parcel of the same ; but also against all right and reason, to take from all other men such lands, as they came to by most just title, by gift, by sale, by exchange, or otherwise. There is no respect nor difference had amongst you, whether they came to them by right or by wrong. Be you so blind, that you cannot see how justly you proceed, to take the sword in your hands against your prince, and to dispossess just inheritors without any cause ? Christ would not take upon him to judge the right and title of lands between two brethren ; and you arrogantly presume not only to judge, but unjustly to take away all men's right titles ; yea, even from the King himself. And do you not tremble for fear that the vengeance of God shall fall upon you, before you have grace to repent ? And yet you, not contented with this your rebellion, would have your shameful act celebrated with a perpetual memory ; as it were to boast and glory of your iniquity. For in memory of your fact, you would have stablished in every county two places to pray for the King and the Commonwealth : whereby your abominable behaviour at this present may never be forgotten,

but be remembered unto the world's end: that when the King's Majesty was in wars both with Scotland and France, you, under pretence of the common wealth, rebelled, and made so great sedition against him within his own realm, as never before was heard of. And therefore you must be prayed for for ever, in every county of this realm.

It were more meet for you to make humble supplication upon your knees to the King's Majesty, desiring him not only to forgive you this fault, but also that the same may never be put in chronicle nor writing; and that neither show nor mention may remain to your posterity, that ever subjects were so unkind to their prince, and so ungracious towards God; that contrary to God's word they would so use themselves against their sovereign Lord and King. And this I assure you of, that if all the whole world should pray for you until doomsday, their prayers should no more avail you, than they should avail the devils in hell, if they prayed for them; unless you be so penitent and sorry for your disobedience, that you will ever hereafter, so long as you live, study to redub and recompense the same with all true and faithful obedience, not only yourselves, but also procuring all other, so much as lieth in you: and so much detesting such uproars and seditions, that if you see any man towards any such things, you will to your power resist him, and open him unto such governors and rulers, as may straightways repress the same. As for your last Article, thanks be to God it needeth not to be answered, which is this.

Your last Article is this:

For the particular griefs of our country, we will have them so ordered, as Humphry Arundel and Henry Bray, the King's Mayor of Bodman, shall inform the King's Majesty, if they may have safe conduct under the King's Great Seal to pass and repass with an Herald of Arms.

XV.

Who ever heard such arrogancy in subjects, to require and will of their princes, that their own particular causes may be ordered, neither according to reason, nor the laws of this realm, but according to the information of two most

heinous traitors? Was it ever heard before this time, that an information should be a judgment, although the informer were of never so great credit? and will you have suffice the information of two villainous papistical traitors? You will deprive the King of the lands pertaining to his crown, and other men of their just possessions and inheritance, and judge your own causes as you list yourselves. And what can you be called then, but most wicked judges, and most errant traitors: except only ignorance or force may excuse you; that either you were constrained by your captains against your wills, or deceived by blind priests and other crafty persuaders, to ask you wist not what. How much then ought you to detest and abhor such men hereafter, and to beware of all such like, so long as you live: and to give most humble and hearty thanks unto God, who hath made an end of this Article, and brought Arundel and Bray^b to that they have deserved; that is, perpetual shame, confusion, and death? Yet I beseech God so to extend his grace unto them, that they may die well which have lived ill. Amen.

^b [Humphry Arundel, a man of good family, and governor of St. Michael's Mount, after remaining for some time in prison at Exeter, was conveyed to London, and executed there with other leaders of the rebels.

Attempts, it is said, were made to exculpate the Mayor of Bodmin, on the ground of his having been forced into the insurrection against his will. As if this defence had been successful, Sir Anthony Kingston, provost marshal of the army, appointed a day for dining with him.—Having been “right heartily welcomed,” he, after dinner expressed a wish to see a pair of gallows, which he had desired his host to erect. On “coming thither and beholding them, he said to the Mayor, ‘Think you, master Mayor, that they be strong enough?’ ‘Yea Sir,’ quoth he, ‘that they are.’ ‘Well then,’ said Sir Anthony, ‘get you even up unto them, for they are provided for you.’ The Mayor greatly “abashed herewith, said, ‘I trust you mean no such thing to me.’ ‘Sir,’ said he, ‘there is no remedy; ye have been a busy rebel, and therefore this is appointed for your reward.’ And so without respite or stay “there was the Mayor hanged.” But Boyer and not Bray is the name given by Holinshed to this victim of Kingston's cruel pleasantry. It may therefore be doubted whether he is correctly described as Mayor of Bodmin. The story perhaps may apply to another person named Boyer, who is said by Strype to have suffered death among the rebel leaders. See Holinshed, vol. iii. pp. 1006. 1036. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 180.]

[*Notes for a Sermon against Rebellion* ^a.]

Sentences of the Scripture against sedition.

1 Cor. iii. Cum sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne C.C.C.C. MSS. cii.
carnales estis, et sicut homines ambulatis?

1 Cor. vi. Quare non magis injuriam accipitis? Quare Strye, Cranm. App. No. 41.
non magis fraudem patimini?

Jac. iii. Si zelum amarum habetis, et contentiones sint in cordibus vestris, &c. non est ista sapientia desursum descendens a Patre luminum, sed terrena, animalis, diabolica. Ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia et omne opus primum. Quæ autem desursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suadibilis, bonis consentiens, plena misericordia et fructibus bonis, non judicans, sine simulatione. Fructus autem justitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.

Jac. iv. Unde bella et lites in vobis? Nonne ex concupiscentiis vestris, quæ militant in membris vestris?

How God hath plagued sedition in time past.

Numb. xvi. Dathan and Abiram, for their sedition against Moses and Aaron, did miserably perish by God's just judgment, the earth opening and swallowing them down quick.

2 Reg. [Samuel] xv. and xviii. Absalom, moving sedition against David, did miserably perish likewise.

2 Reg. [Samuel] xx. Seba for his sedition against David lost his head.

3 Reg. [1 Kings] i. and ii. Adonias also for his sedition against Solomon was slain.

^a [These Notes are thus described by Strye: "An office of fasting was composed for this rebellion, which being allayed in the West, grew more formidable in Norfolk and Yorkshire. For I find a prayer composed by the Archbishop, with these words preceding; 'The exhortation to penance or the supplication may end with this or some other like prayer.' And then the prayer followeth. . . . After this follow some rude draughts, written by Archbishop Cranmer's own hand, for the composing, as I suppose, of an homily or homilies to be used for the office aforesaid." Strye, *Cranmer*, p. 188. The prayer which Strye mentions will be found at the end of the following Sermon. See also the notes p. 248.]

Acts viii. Judas and Theudas for their sedition were justly slain.

Acts xxi. An Egyptian likewise, which moved the people of Israel to sedition, received that he deserved.

Tumults in England. Jack Cade. Jack Straw.

In Germany for their sedition were slain almost in one month about two hundred thousand.

The sword by God's word pertaineth not to subjects, but only to magistrates.

Though the magistrates be evil, and very tyrants against the commonwealth, and enemies to Christ's religion, yet the subjects must obey in all worldly things, as the Christians do under the Turk, and ought so to do, so long as he commandeth them not to do against God.

How ungodly is it then for our subjects to take the sword, where there reigneth a most Christian prince, most desirous to reform all griefs!

Subjects ought to make humble suit to their prince for reformation of all injuries, and not to come with force.

The sword of the subjects at this present cometh not of God, nor for the commonweal of the realm, but of the Devil, and destroyeth the commonweal.

First, For that it is against the word of God.

Secondly, For that they raise so many lies; whereof the Devil is ever the author. *Quia mendax est, et pater ejus.*

Thirdly, For that they spoil and rob men, and command every man to come to them, and to send to them what they please.

Fourthly, For that they let the harvest; which is the chief sustentation of our life; and God of his goodness hath sent it abundantly; and they by their folly do cause it to be lost and abandoned.

Fifthly, For that they be led by rage and fury, without reason; having no respect neither of the King's minority; nor of the papists in the west country; nor of our affairs in France, nor Scotland; which by their sedition is so much hindered, that there could not be imagined so great a damage to the realm.

Sixthly, That they give commandments in the King's name, and in pain of death, having none authority so to do.

Ever against God the Devil hath raised sedition.

As appeareth by the sedition of Dathan and Abiram ; and all the murmurations of the childre of Israel against Moses and Aaron.

Also, of the conspiracies against Zorobabel in the re-edifying of the temple.

Also, against Christ and his Apostles, in sundry parts of the world.

Also, in Germany lately, and now among us. For the Devil can abide no right reformation in religion.

Civil war is the greatest scourge that can be, and most certain argument of God's indignation against us for our ingratitude : that we either will not receive his true word, or that they which receive the same, dishonour God in their living, when they pretend to honour him with their mouths. Which ingratitude and contumely God can in no wise bear at our hands.

The remedies to avert God's indignation from us is to receive his word, and to live according thereunto, returning to God with prayer and penance. Or else surely more grievous affliction shall follow ; if more grievous may be, than civil war among ourselves.

The chief authors of all these tumults be idle and naughty people, which nothing have, nor nothing or little will labour to have : that will riot in expending, but not labour in getting.

^b And these tumults first were excited by the papists and others which came from the western camp : to the intent, that by sowing division among our selves we should not be able to empech them.

^b [It appears from this clause that it was not the Devonshire rebellion which produced these Notes ; probably it was that which followed it in Norfolk, and which was headed by Ket the tanner. See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 242. There is reason to believe, as will be shown hereafter, that the following sermon was preached on occasion of the same insurrection.]

A Sermon concerning the time of Rebellion^a.

C. C. C. C.
MSS. c.11.
p. 409.

The common sorrow of this present time^b, dearly beloved brethren in Christ, if I should be more led thereby, than by reason and zeal to my country, would move me rather to hold my peace, than to speak. For the great evils, which we now suffer, are to be bewailed with tears and silence, rather than with words. And hereunto I might allege for me the example of Job, who when he came to his extreme misery,

^a [Although this Sermon has been placed among Cranmer's works, it must be admitted that his claim to it is not indisputable. It is printed from a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, written by a secretary, but corrected throughout by the Archbishop; respecting which the following memorandum has been left by Archbishop Parker: "Hic Sermo prius descriptus Latine a Petro Martyre." The Latin sermon or rather sermons alluded to, (for there are two of them,) are still preserved in the same collection, cccxl. Articles 4 and 6. It appears on examining them, that the English discourse, though founded on the two in Latin by P. Martyr, is far from being a mere translation of them. In some parts long passages are omitted, in others much new matter is added. There are inserted in particular some very interesting descriptions of the disturbed state of the country, and of the angry feelings existing between the gentry and the lower orders. It may be observed also, that both the Latin and English Sermons contain the same topics and examples as the rough Notes by the Archbishop which are printed above. Perhaps therefore it may be reasonably conjectured, that Cranmer placed these brief notes in the hands of P. Martyr, to be expanded into a regular homily; and that afterwards, from the materials thus prepared in Latin, he drew up the English Sermon which follows. Its contents prove it to be the same, which Burnet says was preached by Cranmer on a fast-day at Court, and which, he asserts, he saw at C.C.C.C. under the Archbishop's own hand, being the only sermon of his that he ever saw. He must have been mistaken with regard to the handwriting, and he does not give his authority for the rest of his statement: but it is in some measure corroborated by the expressions of the concluding prayer. Strype's opinion seems to have been, that a fast-day was appointed on account of the insurrections, that the Archbishop directed sermons on the occasion to be composed for the curates to read to the people, and that this was one of them which was printed for common use. See Note, p. 245. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 187. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 244. and App. B. i. N^o. 36.]

^b [The rebellion against which this Sermon was more especially directed was probably that in Norfolk, headed by Ket the tanner. This was rather later than the Devonshire insurrection, (which is referred to by name, p. 255.) and was more remarkable for the hostility of the rebels against the gentry. See Burnet, Strype, Holinshed.]

he lying upon a dunghill, and three of his friends sitting upon the ground by him, for the space of seven days for great sorrow not one of them opened his mouth to speak a word to another. If then the miserable state of Job, like a most hard and sharp bit, stopped his mouth from speaking, and the lamentable case of their friend stayed those three men, being of speech most eloquent, that they could not utter their words; surely it seemeth, that I have a much more cause to be still, and hold my peace. For there was the piteous lamentation of no mo but of one man, or one household, and that only concerning temporal and worldly substance, but we have cause to bewail a whole realm, and that most noble, which lately being in that state, that all other realms envied our wealth and feared our force, is now so troubled, so vexed, so tossed and deformed, (and that by sedition among ourselves, of such as be members of the same,) that nothing is left unattempted to the utter ruin and subversion thereof. And besides this, the eternal punishment of God threateneth sore as well the authorers and procurers of these seditions, as all other that join themselves unto them. So that we be constrained day and night to bewail the decay, not only of a worldly kingdom and most noble realm, but also the eternal damnation of innumerable souls.

These reasons perchance might move some men to be quiet and hold their peace, but me they do not so much move, which know right well, that our common sorrow and lamentable state cannot be remedied with silence, nor good counsel can be given with holding my peace. Now therefore in this common sorrow, I know nothing that is more able to suage our griefs, and to comfort our heaviness, than is the word of God. For as the sun many times with his beams driveth away great thick and dark clouds, and stayeth great storms of winds; so doth the light of God's word stay men's minds, bringing them from trouble to quietness, from darkness to brightness, from heaviness and desperation to gladness, joy, and comfort. Wherefore I most humbly beseech Almighty God to grant me by his Spirit, that out of holy Scripture I may plainly set out before

your eyes the principal causes of all these tumults and seditions; for if the causes be once known, it shall be the more easy to provide remedy therefore.

The general cause of all these commotions is sin, and under Christian profession unchristian living. But there be also certain special causes, of the which some pertain both to the high and lower sort, as well to the governors as to the common people; some appertain only to the people; and some again only to the governors and rulers. ^cAnd of them I will first begin to speak.

Prima causa. Remissness of correction in the governors.

The governors and rulers be ordained of God, (as St. Paul declareth in his Epistle to the Romans,) for this intent and purpose, that they should be God's officers and ministers here in earth, to encourage and advance them that be good, and to rebuke and correct those that be evil.

But herein, O good Lord, be merciful unto us, for we have been too remiss in punishing offenders, and many things we have winked at. We have suffered perjury, blasphemy, and adultery, slandering and lying, gluttony and drunkenness, vagabonds, and idle persons, either lightly punished, or else not punished at all, either thinking this clemency for the time expedient for the common wealth, or else not duly weighing how grievous those offences be in the sight of God. And whilst we lacked this right judgment of God's wrath against sin, lo, suddenly cometh upon us this scourge of sedition, the rod of God's wrath, to teach us how sore God hateth all wickedness, and is displeased with his ministers that wink thereat. For except we be duller than stocks and stones, we must needs feel that this plague is the grievous scourge of God for our offences, that we have suffered too much them that have offended against his most holy name. We have dissimuled the matter, we have been cold in God's cause, and have rather winked at than punished the contempt both of God and his laws.

^c ["Ac ne videar potentioribus, *nostroque* ordini æquior esse quum par sit, ab eo sermonem auspicabor," &c. Pet. Mart. This clause is favourable to the supposition, that the Sermon was prepared, at least in the first instance, for the Archbishop's own use. See Note, p. 248.]

^d [These marginal remarks are all in Cranmer's own handwriting.]

And this surely is one great cause wherefore we suffer worthily this plague of God. Heli suffered his children too much, and was too soft in chastising of them, when they sinned against God; but that his softness was the destruction of him, his children, and of a great number also of the people of Israel. David, because in time he did not correct his three sons Amon, Absolon, and Adonias, he lost them all three, and was in great danger to be destroyed by them himself. And if the perils of this most chosen king of God do little move us, let us call to our remembrance, I pray you, the plague of God against the whole tribe of Benjamin, because they let pass unpunished the abominable abusing of the Levite's wife, whereof followed, that the whole tribe of Benjamin was almost utterly destroyed; for there was slain of them above twenty-five thousand, and there was left alive of the whole tribe no more but six hundred. Consider, I pray you, by this example, how certain and present destruction cometh to common weals, because offenders against God are unpunished. And whensoever the magistrates be slack in doing their office herein, let them look for none other, but that the plague of God shall fall in their necks for the same. Which thing not only the fore-said examples, but also experiences within ourselves doth plainly teach us. For whensoever any member of our body is diseased or sore, if we suffer it long to continue and fester, do we not see, that at length it doth infect the whole body, and in process of time utterly corrupteth the same? But for what purpose, brethern, do I speak so much of this matter? Verily for none other intent, but that when we know one of the causes of these evils, we may duly repent, and amend the same.

But peradventure some will say, if the governors offend because they do not justly punish offenders, what doth that pertain to us the common people, which have not offended? Let them repent that have offended; let them be sorry for their remissness in punishment, and more sharply correct

* ["When the magistrate by negligence or preposterous pity will not punish for sin, then God striketh." Bp. Hoper, *Third Sermon on Jonah.*]

from henceforth such as by their horrible offences provoke God's indignation against us all. Nay, not so, my friends; let not men charge the governors, and excuse themselves; we have offended God both high and low; we have deserved this plague at God's hands, and much more. Therefore let every man search his own conscience, and (like Daniel did) let every man confess and bewail as well his own sins, as the sins of the heads and rulers. And let every man for his own part correct and amend himself, forasmuch as he knoweth, that our offences be the causes not only of private, but also *of public* and common calamities.

Secunda
causa.
Avaritia.

Now the time requireth to declare another cause of our sedition, which is the greedy desire and, as it were, worshipping of riches, wherewith both the high and low sort being too much blinded have brought our realm to this point^f. And surely nothing more hath caused great and puissant armies, realms, and empires to be overthrown, than hath done the insatiable covetousness of worldly goods. For hereby, as by a most strong poison, whole realms many times have come to ruin, which seemed else to have endured for ever; sundry commonwealths which before were conserved in unity, have by incurable disorder been divided and separated into many parts. This manner of vice, if it be unseemly unto any other people, to them surely that profess Christ it is utterly shameful and detestable, which above all nations should be the true esteemers and lovers of pure godly things which be eternal and immortal, and ought to seek for right judgment and estimation of things only at their own profession. For as many of us as be truly called Christians of Christ, do confess that we be redeemed by him, not through the vain and uncertain riches of this world, but through the strong and perfect obedience whereby he submitted himself unto his father, to be obedient even unto the death of the cross. Worldly wise men esteem worldly riches and wealth above all other things, but the

^f [See a similar account of the covetousness of the nobility, and of the idleness of the common people, in Bp. Hoper's Sermons on Jonah. Sermon 3.]

wisdom of God esteemeth obedience above all things, that is to say, that a man should submit his will to God's will, that he should not desire to use any thing in this world, no not his own life, but as it shall please God and be to his glory; and to be content with that state, place, and degree, that God the Author of all good things hath called him unto. With this sacrifice of obedience Christ did reconcile us unto his Father, humbling himself to his Father's will even to the death of the cross; and he hath commanded all them that profess to be his disciples to follow this his example.

But, alas! how far be all they from this rule and example, which come with force of arms in the King's Majesty's realm without his license and authority, mustering themselves in unlawful assemblies and tumults to the disorder and disquietness of the whole realm? or they also, which through covetousness of joining land to land, and enclosures to enclosures, have wronged and oppressed a great multitude of the King's faithful subjects? I speak of both these sorts of people together, because both of them be diseased with a like sickness. But are they so ignorant in godly religion that they know not that God is the distributor and giver of the goods of the world? And if they know this, why then do they go about to get goods of this world by unlawful means, contrary to God's will and commandment? Wherein what other thing else do they, than forsake their master Christ, and yield themselves unto Satan, worshipping him for their God, because he promiseth to give them the lands and goods of this world? But, Almighty God, I beseech thee, open the eyes of these blind persons, that they may once see and perceive, that the true riches of Christian men be not gold, silver, or great possessions, but those things which neither *the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, nor man's heart can comprehend*. Is it not a great wonder that the Devil should so rob these men of their wits that either oppress the poor, or stir these commotions, that they do forget death? For if they did call to their remembrance that death every day and hour hangeth over their heads, they would not be so greedy of worldly goods,

that for the same they would either do injury to their neighbour, or confound all things upsy down with seditious uproars and unquietness: seeing that of all the goods in this world they shall carry with them when they die not the value of one farthing. No, he that dieth in the displeasure of God, were he never so rich, shall not in the world to come be able to buy one drop of water to quench the flames of everlasting fire, wherewith he shall be tormented in hell. We came naked into this world, and naked we shall depart hence again.

What madness is it then so to labour and toil both day and night, yea, to adventure both body and soul for these things that be so transitory; which we be sure we shall not possess after this life, and be unsure whether we shall keep them so long or no? For we see by common experience, that many which have had great possessions and riches, are suddenly by divers chances brought to great lack and extreme poverty. For the which cause St. Paul doth teach us, that we *put not our confidence in riches which are uncertain and unstable*; for riches be like an untrusty servant, which runneth from his master when he has most need of him. The wretched man, saith the prophet David, *doth hoard up great treasures, but he cannot tell for whom*. We see by daily experience that men be so mad, when they once give themselves to covetousness, that they less esteem the loss of their honesty, common wealth, liberty, religion, yea of God himself and everlasting life, than the loss of their riches.

Against
them that
pretend that
they rose to
relieve the
poor and
the com-
monwealth.

But here methinketh I hear some of these unlawful assemblers mutter and say, 'Sir, it is truth that you have said, covetousness is it that undoeth all this realm, and this was the cause of our assemblies, to have the covetousness of the rich men and gentlemen reformed, and that the poor might be provided for.' But to this I answer on this wise: *That gentlemen were never poorer than they be at this present, for the more part*. And in what case soever they be, yet who gave subjects authority to levy armies in a king's realm without his leave and consent? Or when had ever any such commotion good success, or came to good end? Who did

Subditis
non licet
accipere
gladium.

ever see the feet and legs divide themselves from the head and other superior parts? Doth it then become the lower sort of the people to flock together against their heads and rulers? and specially now at this time in the King's Majesty's minority, when we be round about environed with other enemies? outward with Scots and Frenchmen, and among ourselves with subtle papists, who have persuaded the simple and ignorant Devonshire men, under pretence and colour of religion, to withstand all godly reformation. Shall we now destroy our realm, and make it a prey to our adversaries? Remember the fable of *Æsop*, that when the frog and the mouse did fight together, the puttock came, and snatched them up both. What greater pleasure can we do to the Scots and Frenchmen, than to be at variance within ourselves? What joy is this to the Bishop of Rome, to hear that the blood of Englishmen (for the which he hath so long thirsted) is now like to be shed by their own brethren and countrymen? But let us be joined together like members of one body, and then we shall have less need to fear our foreign enemy. It is an easy thing to break a whole fagot, when every stick is loosed from another; but it is hard to break the fagot, when it is fast bound together.

But peradventure some will say, 'The gentlemen have done the commons great wrong, and things must needs be redressed.' But is this the way, I pray you, to reform that is amiss, to redress one injury with another? Is it the office of subjects, to take upon them the reformation of the common wealth, without the commandment of common authority? To whom hath God given the ordering and reformation of realms? To kings or to subjects? Hearken, and fear the saying of Christ, *He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword*. To take the sword, is to draw the sword without authority of the prince. For God in his Scriptures expressly forbiddeth all private revenging, and hath made this order in common weals, that there should be kings and governors, to whom he hath willed all men to be subject and obedient. Those he hath ordained to be common revengers, correctors, and reformers, of all common things that be

Non est
plebis ab-
usus refor-
mare.

amiss. And he hath forbidden all private persons to presume to take any such thing upon them, because he would not that his godly order should be broken or troubled of any man. Christ refused to divide the inheritance between two brethern, because he would not intermeddle with that office unto the which he was not sent of his Father. How presumptuous then be they that enterprise to be judges in the limits and bands of lands, not being called thereunto, neither having any commission to do it? Among the Israelites, when they had entered into the land of Canaan, none durst be so bold as to usurp unto himself either house, city, or land; but they tarried till Josue their governor had divided the same, and every man was contented with his appointment. And why then do not our people patiently tarry, till our Josue and his council do make just reformations, as they intend to do, but will take upon themselves to be reformers and judges of their own causes, and so by uproars and tumults hinder the most godly purposes and proceedings of him and his council?

Paupertatis
prætextu
non debet
tumultuari
populus.

But poverty, they say, constrained them to do as they have done. So might the thief say, that poverty constraineth him to rob, if that would excuse him. But this is no sufficient cause of their disobedience. For our Saviour Christ was so poor, that he saith of himself, *Foxes have buries, and birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath no place where he may lay his head.* And Peter also forsook all that he had, and followed Christ's poverty. And yet they both paid quietly tribute to Cæsar. And we read not that they made any business, or gathered numbers of people together to stir and commotion, crying, as heaven and earth should go together, that it was not justly ordered that they which were most godly had no possessions, and yet were compelled to pay tribute to Cæsar. They said no such words, but paid their tribute without murmuring or grudging. They to whom God hath sent poverty in goods, let them also be poor and humble in spirit, and then be they blessed in heaven, howsoever they be here in earth. Christ himself saith, *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for*

theirs is the kingdom of heaven. For no poverty can move such men to do any thing against God's commandments or to disquiet the common wealth.

But although they pretend that poverty constraineth them thus to do, be they so blind that they cannot see, that this sedition doth not remedy, but increase their poverty? Be their eyes so hard shut in their heads, that they cannot see what evil they have done to their own common wealth, what victuals they have consumed, how they have hindered the harvest upon the ground, which God sent them to be their living the next year? and so they destroy their own livings themselves. They nothing consider how many men they have undone, how many they have spoiled and robbed, how many childre they have caused to be fatherless, and wives to be widows. And what be they the better therefore? What have they gotten thereby, but only loaded themselves with the burden of the spoil and robbery of other men, whom they be never able to satisfy? And yet they may be assured that God will be satisfied of them for their evil doings, even unto the uttermost farthing.

And although their offences be as great as may be thought, thus to consume and annoy their own country, their own friends and neighbours, yet the mercy of God is never consumed to them that will repent and amend. Wherefore let us pray God for them, that he will give them eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand their own misdemeanour and folly.

But the great part of them that be the chief stirrers in these insurrections be ruffians and sturdy idle fellows, which be the causes of their own poverty, commonly resorting to tippling and to alehouses, much drinking and little working, much spending, and little getting; and yet will they be clad gorgeously, fare daintiously, and lie softly, which neither caring for God nor man, seek now nothing else, but to get something by spoil and robbing of other men. These fellows make all this hurly burly in every place, and when the rage of the people is quieted in one place, then they run to another, never quiet themselves, nor

This sedition doth not relieve but increase poverty.

Quales sunt hujus seditionis precipui auctores.

ceasing to disquiet other, until at length they hope to come to their prey. Happy is that place where none such be, and in great danger be they where many such be. This realm had never so many; and that evidently appeareth at this present time.

Otiosis
nebuloni-
bus nihil est
dandum.

All the whole Scripture exhorteth to pity and compassion upon the poor, and to help them; but such poor, as be oppressed with children or other necessary charges, or by fire, water, or other chance, come to poverty, or for age, sickness, or other causes, be not able to labour; but to such as be poor by their own folly, that be able to labour and will not, the Scripture commandeth in no wise to aid them or help them, but chargeth utterly all men to abhor them. But these men repugning against God gape at nothing else, but unjustly and by force to take from other men that which God hath given unto them by their just labour.

And yet they pretend that they mean nothing else but a reformation of things that be amiss, and they complain much of rich men and gentlemen, saying, that they take the commons from the poor, that they raise the prices of all manner of things, that they rule the poverty and oppress them at their pleasure. Thus they excuse their own outrageous presumption by charging the gentlemen. But whilst they look so earnestly at other men's faults, they do not see their own. They speak much against Achab, that took from Naboth his vineyard, but they follow not the example of Naboth, who would rather lose his vineyard, than he would make any commotion or tumult among the people. They make exclamations against Achab, and yet follow him rather than the patience of Naboth. We never read that any just man which is praised in the Scripture did take sword in his hand as against his prince or nobility, although he suffered never so much wrong or oppression. And yet now they accuse the gentlemen of taking of commons, which take from the gentlemen both the common and proper. They charge the rich men that they enhance the prices, but in this unseemly commotion, they take from the rich men what they list without

Quod sit
falsa horum
nebulonum
querela.

any price. They say that the gentlemen rule the poor and oppress them at their pleasure. But they so say that be out of all rule and order, and rule the gentlemen as pleaseth them, except they will have their goods spoiled, their houses brent, and further be in danger of their lives ^b.

^cThey say, gentlemen have ruled aforetime, and they will rule now another while. A goodly realm shall that be, that shall be ruled by them that never had experience to govern, nor cannot rule themselves. A prentice must learn seven years, before he can be a good merchant; no less time were required to be a good governor.

But if God were so offended with our realm, and by our ingratitude and wickedness were so much provoked to indignation against us, that he would make them governors and rulers over us, O Lord, what a realm should this be! What fruit should we see of their governance? What end or measure would be of their covetousness? What justice should be looked for at their hands, if they were rulers, which now

^b["The other rabble of Norfolk rebels, ye pretend a common wealth. How amend ye it? By killing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentlemen, by imprisoning of gentlemen? A marvellous tanned common wealth. Why should ye thus hate them? For their riches or for their rule? Rule they never took so much in hand as ye do now. . . . In countries some must rule, some must obey, every man may not bear like stroke: for every man is not like wise. And they that have seen most, and be best able to bear it, and of just dealing beside, be most fit to rule. . . . If riches offend you, because ye wish the like, then think that to be no common wealth, but envy to the common wealth. Envy it is to appair another man's estate, without the amendment of your own. And to have no gentlemen, because ye be none yourselves, is to bring down an estate, and to mend none. Would ye have all alike rich? That is the overthrow of labour, and utter decay of work in this realm," &c. Sir John Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedition*. Cheke's treatise is precisely of the same date with this Sermon, and throws much light on it. It will be found in Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 1042. and will on many accounts fully repay the trouble of perusal. See also Strype, *Life of Cheke*, ch. iii. §. 2]

^c["Some crieth, Pluck down enclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend the religion; a number would rule another while, and direct things as gentlemen have done; and indeed all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and taketh them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them and the soldiers, which be the chief doers, look for spoil. So that it seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men." *Letter from Protector Somerset to Sir Philip Hobby*, Burnet, vol. ii. App. B. i. N°. 36.]

being but private persons without law or justice take from every man at their pleasure? How would they temper themselves being in authority, that now without authority be ruled by their own affections, without the fear of God, or respect to reason or honesty. It is a common and a true saying, that authority sheweth what every man is, and a gentleman will ever show himself a gentleman, and a villain a villain. We see daily by experience that a gentleman in authority hath a respect to his reputation and worship, but a villain called to office and authority commonly regardeth neither God, worship, nor honesty, but to catch what he can by right or by wrong. For unto him all is fish that cometh to the net.

*Quod sunt
impii qui
in his sce-
leribus præ-
texunt e-
vangelium.*

And yet it is reported, that there be many among these unlawful assemblers that pretend knowledge of the Gospel, and will needs be called Gospellers, as though the Gospel were the cause of disobedience, sedition, and carnal liberality, and the destruction of those policies, kingdoms, and common weals, where it is received. But if they will be true Gospellers, let them then be obedient, meek, patient in adversity, and long-suffering, and in no wise rebel against the laws and magistrates. These lessons are taught in the Gospel, both by evident Scriptures, and also by the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Christ himself was poor, and pronounceth himself them to be blessed that patiently suffer poverty; the Apostles forsook all that they had, and followed Christ; the Prophets oftentimes refused great riches offered unto them; and can they say, that they have the spirit of the Prophets and the Apostles, which, having no possessions of their own, go about by force, violence, and sedition, to get other men's? No; this spirit is not of Christ, but of the Devil; and such a spirit, as among the Romans Catiline, Cethegus, and Manlius were inspired withal; and here in England, Jack Straw, Jack Cade the blacksmith, Captain Aske, and divers other rebels, who have suffered just punishment after their deserving.

And although here I seem only to speak against these unlawful assemblers, yet I cannot allow those, but I must needs threaten everlasting damnation unto them, whether

they be gentlemen or whatsoever they be, which never cease to purchase and join house to house, and land to land, as though they alone ought to possess and inhabit the earth. For to such Esai the prophet threateneth everlasting woe and the curse of God, except they repent and amend their lives in time. But yet their fault excuseth not those, which without the commandment of the King and his laws have taken harness upon their backs, and refused to lay it down, when they were by the King's authority commanded so to do. What other reward can I promise to them, than the anger and vengeance of God, which they shall feel both in this life and in the life to come, both sorer and sorer than they look for, except they acknowledge their fault, and amend by time?

But let us now compare these two destructions of the common weal together, the covetous men, which, as they say, do enclose and possess unjustly the commons, and these mutineers, which rashly and without all reason will be both the hearers, judges, and reformers of their own causes, and that is most injustice of all and against all man's law and God's law, this they will do, the other parties neither heard nor called, and thereunto they take the King's power upon them, the authority of the magistrate, and the sword, which they never had by no law. Which of these two is the greater injury? which is the more intolerable robbery? which is the more pernicious confusion? is this a remedy to their griefs? is this to bring in justice? I am sure, themselves being quiet from their furor and rage cannot so think. Foolishness is not healed by madness, theft is not amended with spoil and ravine; neither is the common wealth stayed or made strong by the breach of laws, orders, and states. Wherefore let both parties lay away this so furious and excessive desire of vain and worldly things, which, as we have now learned by experience, and as the Apostle saith, *is the root of all evils*.

But now I will go further to speak somewhat of the great hatred, which divers of these seditious persons do bear against the gentlemen, which hatred in many is so out-

Multo deteriores
sunt rebelles et seditiosi
quam avari.

Odium nebulonum
in nobiles
et divites.

rageous, that they desire nothing more, than the spoil, ruin, and destruction of them that be rich and wealthy; for this thing many of them do cry and openly profess. Oh a goodly purpose, and benefit to the realm! this declareth what spirit they be led withal. If these devilish spirits might have their wills, what destruction should hang over this realm? what miserable state should this common weal come unto? This noble realm, which yet is feared of all nations, should then be a prey to all nations, to the Frenchmen, to the Scots, and to every realm that would spoil them; and among ourselves should be such confusion, that every man should spoil other, if he were stronger. For take away gentlemen and rulers, and straightway all order falleth clearly away, and followeth barbarical confusion. Oh! how far be these men from all fear of God! for God commandeth all inferiors most readily to obey their superiors, but these, more like beasts than men, bend themselves clearly against God, not only to disobey, but also to destroy their superiors which God hath appointed over them. The Scripture saith, *he that hateth his brother is a murderer* before God. But these men not only mortally hate, but also threaten the destruction not only of one man, but of one whole state, and that, next the King's Majesty, the chief state of the whole realm.

Against
them that
refuse the
King's par-
don.

And not only this, but that which is more wonderful and to be lamented, part of them do despise and openly refuse the King's Majesty's pardon^c. He is loath to shed his subject's blood, although they be unworthy the name of his subjects, but they seek to shed the blood of them which have hitherto defended their blood from shedding. He, like a merciful prince, is loath to cut off the members of his body, although many of them are so rotten and corrupt, that, if they might, they would infect the whole body. And

^c [Pardon was proclaimed in Norwich by a herald on the 31st of July, ineffectually, Ket the leader declaring, that he needed no pardon, having "done nothing but that belonged to the duty of a true subject." The rebels were defeated, and Ket taken on the 27th of August. This Sermon was probably delivered in the interval. Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 1032—1039.]

what madness is it, that diseased members refuse to be anointed with the most soft and gentle ointment of his Majesty's mercy? He is as careful of their health and life as it were possible if they were his children; although by these seditions and uproars he hath been more grievously offended, than the gentlemen have offended them, with whom they be angry. For the gentlemen, in case those things be true wherewith they be charged, yet they have only done wrong to the poor commons in their enclosures and such like matters. But by these seditions the Majesty of a most high and godly King is hurt and wronged, for so much as they take upon them his office; and as it were pulleth the sword out of his hands. For he is ordained of God to have the hearing and decision of such causes, and to have the administration and distribution of these worldly goods; but they in their rage do in a manner pull him out of his throne and chair of estate, and cast him down to the ground, who is here in earth God's vicar and chief minister, and of whom only next unto God dependeth all the wealth and felicity of this realm; as it would soon appear, if he were missing, which God forbid, and all the realm should bewail. Verily, when I consider with myself their unjust desire in revenging, and the King's Majesty's gentleness in suffering and pardoning, methink I see the accustomed order of things to be clean turned and changed upside down: for Solomon saith, *A king's anger is like the roaring of a lion*. But their Sovereign Lord doth not roar against them, (which notwithstanding have grievously offended and provoked his anger,) but rather doth fawn upon them, and use them gently. Contrariwise they which ought to be as gentle and meek as lambs, whose part it were either to hold their peace and not open their mouths, or else to speak very mildly and lowly, do now roar and make outcries like most cruel lions: the which thing how justly they do it, God's vengeance (except they take heed) will speedily declare.

One thing there is, which after all I think necessary to be added hereunto, and that in mine opinion is the head

Gravius
peccarunt
isti sediti-
osi in re-
gem et reg-
num, quam
quæ con-
queruntur
illi de no-
bilibus.

Præcipua
causa om-
nium malo-

rum est
contemptus
aut abusus
evangelii.

and beginning of all these tribulations. For the Gospel of God now set forth to the whole realm is of many so hated, that it is reject, refused, reviled, and blasphemed; and by those which have received the same, and would be counted to be great favourers thereof, yet it sustaineth much injury and reproach, and by their occasion is ill spoken of. For the great number of them pretending a zeal thereto in their lips, and not in their hearts, counterfeiting godliness in name, but not in deed, live after their own pleasure, like Epicures, and so ungodly as though there were no God. And what is it that St. Paul calleth the having of God's truth in unrighteousness, if this be not it? These having more knowledge of God than they had before, and receiving a taste of the heavenly gifts, notwithstanding retain their old vices in their corrupt manners and dissolute conversation, being nothing amended, but rather payred. Which thing being in this case, what other thing should we look for than the severe and terrible judgment of God, to make us an example to all them that abuse his word, (sith by repentance we will not be amended, nor by the pure word of God be healed,) that thereby all men may learn how abominable it is before God, his name to be so dishonoured, and the doctrine of the Gospel so lightly esteemed. The heathen poet^d could not wink at such men, but with his pen rubbed them on the gall, which pretending holiness, so dissolutely did live. And shall God's judgment leave them unpunished, which always having in their mouth the Gospel, the Gospel, reasoning of it, and bragging of it, yet in their conversation live after the world, the flesh, and the Devil? which, as St. Paul wrote unto Titus, *confessing God with their mouth, deny him in their deeds?*

But such as rejoice and brag in such things, utterly deceive themselves. Whoso listeth to read the histories of the heathen people and greatest idolaters, he shall not find among them all, any region, people, or nation that was so scourged by God, so oft brought into servitude, so oft car-

^d [The line from Juvenal is given by P. Martyr :
" Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt."]

ried into captivity, with so divers, strange, and many calamities oppressed, as were the childre of Israel. And yet they bragged and gloried that none other nation but they only had the law of God, their rites and ceremonies of God, God's promises and his testaments. And so it was indeed : nevertheless St. Paul, writing to the Romans, doth most sore rebuke and reprove them, saying : *Thou art called a Jew, and dost trust in the law, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will, and allowest the things that be best, and are informed by the law, and thinkest that thou art a guide to the blind, a light to them that are in darkness, a teacher of them that be ignorant, a doctor to them that be unlearned, which hast the true form and knowledge of the truth by the law. But yet thou which teachest another teachest not thyself, thou preachest that a man should not steal, yet thou stealest, thou sayest that a man should not commit adultery, but thou breakest wedlock. Thou abhorrest images, and yet thou committest idolatry by honouring of them. Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking of the law dishonourest God : for the name of God is ill spoken of among the heathen by your means.*

Thus the Apostle St. Paul charging the Jews, chargeth us also, which with our mouths say that we have received the word of God, and yet our conversation is contrary and ungodly. Why then do we marvel, if we suffer these punishments for our dissimulation and hypocrisy ? For God useth first to begin and correct his own family : then if he should suffer this amongst us unpunished, should not he be thought to approve sin, to be a favourer of the wicked, and the God of unthrifths and lewd people ?

The Church of God, most dearly beloved brethern, ought not to be reputed and taken as a common place, whereunto men resort only to gaze and to hear, either for their solace or for their pastime. But whatsoever is there declared of the word of God, that should we devoutly receive, and so earnestly print in our minds, that we should both believe it as most certain truth, and most diligently endeavour ourselves to express the same in our manners and living. If we

receive and repute the Gospel as a thing most true and godly, why do we not live according to the same? If we count it as fables and trifles, why do we take upon us to give such credit and authority unto it? To what purpose tendeth such dissimulation and hypocrisy? If we take it for a Canterbury tale, why do we not refuse it, why do we not laugh it out of place, and whistle at it? why do we with words approve it, with conscience receive and allow it, give credit unto it, repute and take it as a thing most true, wholesome, and godly, and in our living clearly reject it? Brethern, God will not be mocked; for this cause did God so severely and grievously punish the Jews above all other nations. And sith our cause is the like and the same, the selfsame ire and displeasure of God is now provoked and kindled against us.

The empire of Rome never appeared to be in worse case, or in a more troublous and unquiet state, than when Christ's religion was preached and received among them. Whereupon arose neither few nor small complaints of the heathen, ascribing all these adversities unto the receiving of the Gospel and the religion of Christ. To whom the godly and learned fathers and martyrs made answer, that it was not long of Christ's doctrine and religion, which teach things most virtuous and godly, that such calamities did ensue: but it was long of the corrupt execution and negligent observation of the same religion. For our Lord did say, the servant which knoweth his master's commandment and doth it not, shall be sorer punished, than he which knoweth not his master's will, and offendeth by ignorance: whereby it is evident, as the word of God (if it be godly received, and with all the heart embraced) is most comfortable, of most efficacy, strength, and virtue; so otherwise if it be trodden under foot, rejected, and despised, or craftily under the cloke of dissimulation and hypocrisy received, it is a compendious and a short way unto destruction, it is an instrument whereby the punishment and displeasure of God is both augmented and also accelerate and sooner brought upon us, as we have most justly deserved.

If we will consider the histories of the Books of the Kings, we shall no time find mo prophets among the people of Israel, nor the light of the word of God more spread abroad every where, than it was a little before the captivity and destruction of the same by the Babylonians. A man would think that even at that same time God had set up a school of holy Scriptures and doctrine ; then were the heavenly Prophets in all places and to all men declared. But because so great knowledge of God and of his doctrine no good fruits did follow, but daily their living and conversation went backward and became worse, the said miserable destruction and captivity did ensue. And yet a worse captivity and misery fell upon the same people, when most perfect knowledge of God was offered unto them by the coming of Christ, what time the Lord Jesus Christ himself did preach there, his Apostles did preach there, yea many other disciples, evangelists, and doctors did preach there ; whose preachings and doctrines when they would not receive, nor fruitfully and condignly accomplish and execute, then sprang up so many dissensions, tumults, and commotions, that at the last they were brought unto utter subversion and destruction in the time of Vespasian and Titus.

Of the chances of the Germans, which in a manner have suffered the same, because it is so lately done, I need not much to speak. It is yet before our eyes and in present memory, so that it needeth no declaration in words.

These things before rehearsed, have I for this intent and purpose spoken, that we should acknowledge and repute all these seditions and troubles which we now suffer, to be the very plague of God for the rejecting or ungodly abusing of his most holy word, and to provoke and entice every man to true and fruitful repentance and to receive the Gospel, (which now by God's mercy and the good zeal of the King's Majesty and his Council is every where set abroad,) not feignedly and faintly as many have done, nor stub-

^c [The Rustic War, which probably is here alluded to, terminated in the defeat of the fanatics, and the death of their leader Munster, 1525. Sleidan, book v.]

bornly and contemptuously to reject it and forsake it, as many other do nowadays not knowing what it is, but thankfully to take and embrace it at God's hands, and with all humbleness and reverence to follow and use the same to God's glory and our benefit.

Ye have heard now, as I suppose, the chief and principal causes of these tumultuations. Now shall I shew you by examples of times passed, what plagues of God remaineth for them that stir up seditions, unless they repent in time, and cease from their shameful and ungodly enterprizes.

Quomodo
Deus sem-
per affligere
solebat se-
ditionos.

The children of Israel in the desert did oftentimes seditiously use themselves against Moses, but always did follow great plagues of death. So that this was the end of it, that six hundred and twenty thousand which came out of Egypt all died and were slain, and no mo came to the land of Canaan but two persons only. How miserably Core, Dathan, and Abiron perished making of sedition, the Holy Bible manifestly and at large declareth. Mary seditiously used herself against her brother Moyses, and was she not suddenly stricken with a leprosy, of the which she had perished, if Moyses for her had not made intercession to God? Absolon against his father king David was seditious, but was not he miserably hanged by the hair in a wood by the punishment of God? Seba and Adonias for their sedition, lost they not both their lives? In the rebellion made against Nabugodonozor in the time of the prophet Hieremy, which instantly dissuaded them from their fury, they little regarding his admonition went down unto Egypt, where at the last they were all destroyed. Did not the tribe of Efrata make a commotion against Jephthe their judge, but were they not all miserably slain therefore?

If I would recite and add hereunto all the histories of the heathen, which declare the miserable end of seditious persons and rebellions, I should be more prolix and tedious than this present time doth suffer. Wherefore I shall think it sufficient for this time to bring unto your remembrance the great destruction of the rude and homely

^f [See note, p. 267.]

people, which not many years ago chanced to rise in Germany, by and by after that the word of God began there to shine and flourish, of the which were slain within the time of three months above an hundred thousand persons. And what followed further thereof? Great dearth of victual, great hunger and penury.

But methinks that I have not done my office and duty, until I have showed also the remedies to appease God's wrath, and to avoid his plagues. And to shew you the sum in few words, the only help and remedy is repentance: for other medicine and preservative can I give you none by God's word, but that which Christ did preach and declare unto the world, and which also his faithful messenger, John the Baptist, coming before to prepare his ways, did also teach, saying, *Repent you and amend, and the kingdom of heaven shall come unto you.* And on this wise did our Lord Jesus Christ instruct his disciples, to whom he gave commandment specially to preach repentance and remission of sins, when he sent them forth into all the world to preach in his name. The effect of sin is to put us away from God, the very well-spring of all goodness; but by penance we return again to him from whom we were gone and departed by sin; that as we went from God, and ran after worldly things, being inflamed with insatiable desires thereof, so by penance we return from worldly creatures unto God the Creator of all things. And what mutation and change can be more comfortable or more to be desired than this. We be sorry for those things which greatly pleased us before, we forsake those things which we much made of before, not without great contempt of God, and violation of his most holy laws.

Wherefore sith repentance doth bring so many benefits, that thereby we be returned unto God, that we be altered into a better mind, that we bewail those things which we before unjustly loved, who doth not manifestly perceive that it is the only refuge and anchor of our health and salvation? And for this cause is penance so much commended unto us, both of Christ himself, and of St. John, and of Christ's Apostles.

The remedy
of all our
plagues is
only pen-
ance.

Effectus
peccati.
Effectus
penitentiae.

*Cur Deus
differt sta-
tim punire
delinquen-
tes.*

And why doth God forbear and so long defer to make punishment upon sin? Surely because he would have us to repent and amend. And why doth he many times strike so sore at length those that continue in evil doings? Because that with the rod he would constrain to repent and amend, such as by gentleness and long suffering wax worse and worse. If God did not tarry for us, looking for our repentance and amendment, we should have perished by God's righteous judgment long before this time. If God by and by should have punished offences, we should not have had Peter among the Apostles, the Church should have lacked that elect vessel Paul, yea, we all long ago had been destroyed. And if God should have suffered us any longer, being so evil as we were, peradventure we should have forgotten God, and died without repentance.

*Cur tan-
dem gravi-
us animad-
vertit.*

Wherefore that thing that God so much desireth of us, and hath provoked unto, first by longsuffering, and now by sore punishing, that is true and godly repentance. Let us receive it quickly without longer delay. Let us consider well in our minds how many ways God doth call and allure sinners to penance. Our first parents Adam and Eve, after they had transgressed God's commandment, he called them unto him, he rebuked them, he sharply punished them. And after, when all things in the earth were corrupted by the sins of man, God commanded Nohe to build an ark, to save him and all that were righteous, that only the wicked might be drowned throughout all the world. And for what purpose was the ark so long in making, but for a long preaching and warning of the world to repent and amend? How oft is it read in the book of Judges, that the childre of Israel were given over unto the hands of heathen princes, that they should be punished by them, and by punishment repent and amend! It is an extreme impiety and madness to think that God is cruel and delighteth in the punishment of his people, but for their amendment. For so did the Marcionists and the Manichees blaspheme God, which for this purpose did accuse him of cruelty and unmercifulness, that thereby they might take away all credit from the Old Testament. But we do acknowledge that God did therein

shew his great mercy, that the Israelites, admonished by afflictions, whom no speaking nor writing could move, might by repentance return again to God. Also the great slaughter that the other tribes of Israel suffered of the tribe of Benjamin, came of none other cause, but that they being converted by penance might at the last obtain the victory.

Furthermore, the prophets sent of God did most earnestly persuade all men to repentance. The godly king David was no otherways healed than by repentance. And the prophet Hely was sent to Achab King of Israel to call him to repentance. And by the same, Manasses King of Judah did obtain remission. By the selfsame repentance did his father Ezechias obtain prolongation of his life. The King of Nineve, with all his people, by the means of repentance had God merciful unto them. The great king Nabugodonozor, after that he had repented, recovered not only his former state, being changed from a beast to a man, but also was restored to his empire and kingdom, which before he had lost. By the same means did Peter obtain remission of his abjuration and denial of Christ. By the same, Paul of a persecutor became an apostle. Mary Magdalene, at the feet of the Lord, taking repentance was absolved and remitted. And the thief on the cross by this same remedy obtained salvation. This did the Apostles persuade unto them that received their preaching, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. This did Peter propound unto Simon Magus. This did Paul commend unto the Corinthians, and almost to all other to whomsoever he wrote, and did both often and diligently beat it into men's heads. This we must receive as the first part of the Gospel. This God requireth of all offenders, if they will be reconciled unto him. Wherefore now let us repent while we have time, for the axe is laid ready at the root of the tree to fell it down. If we will harden our hearts, and will not now be repentant of our misdoings, God will surely strike us clean out of his book.

Hitherto ye have heard of the profit and commodity of *Pœnitentia* repentance, now shall ye hear what it is, and of what parts *quid sit*.

it consisteth. And to declare it plainly and grossly unto you, it is a sorrow conceived for sins committed, with hope and trust to obtain remission by Christ, with a firm and effectual purpose of amendment, and to alter all things that hath been done amiss.

I have described unto you this heavenly medicine ; which if we use, God hath promised by his Prophet, that *if our sins were so red as scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow*. But God's word hath thus much prevailed among us, that in the stead of sorrow for our sin, is crept in a great looseness of living without repentance : in the stead of hope and trust of remission of our sins, is come in a great boldness to sin without the fear of God : instead of amendment of our lives, I see daily every thing waxeth worse and worse. So that it is much to be afraid, that God will take away from us his vineyard, and bestow it to other husbandmen which will till it better, that it shall bring forth fruit in due season. We be come to the point almost that Hieremy spake of, when he said : *The people spake not that was right, no man would repent him so much of his sin that he would once say, What have I done ? Every man ran after his own way, as a horse runneth headlong in battle ; they have committed abominable mischief, and yet be they nothing ashamed, nor know the way to be abashed.*

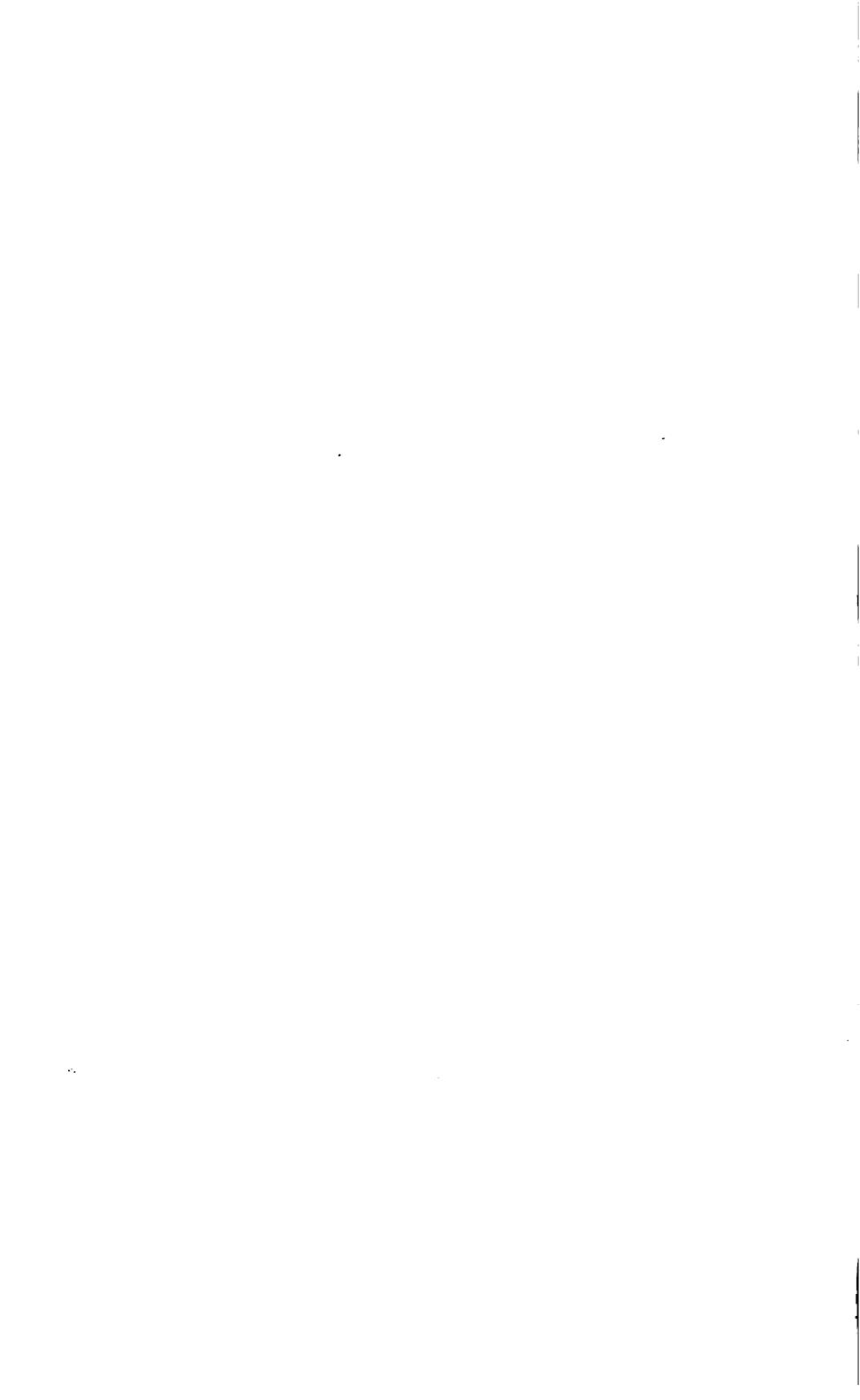
These words of Hieremy may well be spoken of us this present time, but let us repent in time without further delay. For we have enough and overmuch already provoked God's wrath and indignation against us. Wherefore let us pray and fall down and lament before the Lord our Maker, for *he is the Lord our God, and we are the people of his pasture and the sheep of his fold. To day if we hear his voice, let us not harden our hearts as the people did in the desert* ; for of continuance in evil living there is none other end to be looked for than eternal damnation ; but of repentance and perfect conversion unto God, the end is perpetual salvation and everlasting life. And if we do not repent in time, at the last we shall be compelled to hear this terrible voice of damnation : *Go ye wicked into ever-*

lasting fire which is prepared for the Devil and those that be his. Then there shall be no remedy, then no intercession shall serve, then it shall be too late to come to repentance. Let us rather repent and turn in time, and make intercession unto the Lord by his Son Jesus Christ. Let us lament for our sins, and call for God's mercy, that when Christ shall come at the last day, we may hear these words of him, *Come to me you that be blessed of my Father, and take possession of the kingdom which my Father hath prepared for you.*

And now with this humble prayer let us make an end :

‘ O Lord, whose goodness far exceedeth our naughtiness, and whose mercy passeth all measure, we confess thy judgment to be most just, and that we worthily have deserved this rod wherewith thou hast now beaten us. We have offended the Lord God : we have lived wickedly : we have gone out of the way : we have not heard thy prophets which thou hast sent unto us to teach us thy word, nor have done as thou hast commanded us : wherefore we be most worthy to suffer all these plagues. Thou hast done justly, and we be worthy to be confounded. But we provoke unto thy goodness ; we appeal unto thy mercy ; we humble ourselves ; we knowledge our faults. We turn to thee, O Lord, with our whole hearts, in praying, in fasting, in lamenting and sorrowing for our offences. Have mercy upon us, cast us not away according to our deserts, but hear us, and deliver us with speed, and call us to thee again according to thy mercy ; that we, with one consent, and one mind, may evermore glorify thee, world without end. *Amen.*

‘ [There are two copies of this prayer in the Corpus manuscript. One is placed at the end of the Sermon : the other, which is a draft corrected by Cranmer, stands by itself, bearing the title described by Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 188. See note, p. 245.]



A
DEFENCE

OF THE

TRUE AND CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENT
OF THE BODY AND BLOOD

OF

OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST,

WITH

A CONFUTATION OF SUNDRY ERRORS CONCERNING THE SAME, GROUNDED
AND STABLISHED UPON GOD'S HOLY WORD, AND APPROVED BY
THE CONSENT OF THE MOST ANCIENT DOCTORS
OF THE CHURCH.

MADE BY THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
THOMAS,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN.



It is the spirit that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. John vi.

[THIS work is printed from a copy of 1550: but a few corrections, references, and marginal notes, have been taken from later editions, particularly from that of 1580, which is said to have had the benefit of the Archbishop's last revision. Some supplementary authorities also have been added, which were collected by Cranmer during his imprisonment, but were not published till after his death; when they were inserted in a Latin translation of the *Defence* printed at Embden in 1557, under the direction, as it is supposed, of Sir John Cheke. These form the notes marked EMBD.

For reasons which he has given near the end of his *Answer to Gardyner*, Cranmer usually translates his citations. But it is very desirable, particularly as the disputants not unfrequently accuse each other of corrupting the ancient writers, to have ready access to the originals. On this account the most material authorities alleged on either side have been extracted at length from the best modern editions. As it often happens that the same passage is quoted in several different places, it has been thought best, for avoiding repetition and facilitating reference, to throw all the citations together: and the whole therefore have been inserted in the Appendix, arranged according to the dates of their respective authors.]

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^a *Illustrissimo ac nobilissimo Principi EDVARDO Sexto, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regi, fidei Defensori, et in terris secundum Christum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Capiti Supremo, Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus.*

PRO cura Dominici gregis mihi commissæ, in quo salutari pastu verbi divini erudiendo omnem curam cogitationemque meam collocare debeo, Illustriss. Princeps, Cœnam Domini (quæ multis et magnis superstitionibus violata est, et ad quæstum translata) renovandam ad Servatoris Christi instituta et redintegrandam putavi; et de vero ejus usu ex verbi divini et veteris ac sanctæ Ecclesiæ auctoritate commonefaciendos esse omnes judicavi, quorum cura et instructio ad officii mei auctoritatem aliqua ex parte pertinet.

Itaque ante triennium Missæ papisticæ abusus præcipuos (quibus non modo Ecclesia Anglica, sed etiam totus pene orbis fœdatus atque infectus fuerat) libello quodam Anglo confutavi, et verum atque Christianum ejus usum restituendum docui. Quo libro ita multi sunt ad sanam de ea re opinionem adducti, ut veritatis vim, quanta esset, sentirem, et gratiæ Servatoris Christi beneficia intelligerem, ut ad veritatis lucem patefactam occæcati homines splendorem lucis acciperent, et (ut Paulus prædicante Anania) oculorum aciem perciperent. Hoc ita ægre Stephanus Gardinerus, Wintoniensis tum Episcopus, tulerat, ut nihil sibi prius faciendum putarit, quam ut librum tam utilem et plausibilem confutaret; ratus, nisi opera sua aliqua impedimenta objicerentur, nullos deploratæ jam et derelictæ pene sententiæ

^a [This Letter was first prefixed to the Latin translation of the *Defence* published in 1553. It was reprinted in the Embden edition of 1557.]

adjutores fore. Itaque eadem ipse lingua librum iisdem de rebus conscribit, et firmatam jam de vero Coenæ usu sententiam evertere conatur, et papisticam opinionem superstitionibus undique diffluentem revocare conatur. Post hunc prodiit M. Antonius Constantius, Stephano Gardinero ita affinis et germanus, ut idem ipse esse videatur; tanta est ingeniorum subtilitas, scripturæ sophisticæ similitudo. Sed uterque idem tractat, alio tamen modo.

Constantius enim libro Latine scripto ita argumenta mea persequitur, ut sibi optimum videtur; et, ut causam juvet, sæpe truncata, sæpe inversa, sæpe disjecta, sic introducit, ut non magis a me agnosci potuerint, quam Medææ liberi in multa membra disjecti et deformati. Neque enim de hujusmodi corporis forma, neque de ulla re recte judicare possumus, ubi tota species ante oculos proposita non est, in quam intueri, quasi in Phidiæ Minervam, debemus, et non particulam aliquam, sicuti Momus crepidam Veneris, lacescere. Itaque ut melius mea de hac controversa opinione sententia teneretur, librum meum de Anglico in Latinum convertendum curavi, ut omnes intelligerent, nos neque obscuram nostram sententiam neque abditam esse velle, quam cum multis bonis et doctis viris communem habemus, et cum verbo Dei et verbi defensatrice vera Ecclesia consentientem.

Nemo est autem ex omnibus dignior, in cuius nomine libellus hic appareat quam in tuo. Es enim non modo papistarum opinione fidei Defensor, (qui hoc non a seipsis protulerant, sed Deo per illos ad ipsorum perniciem præmonente,) sed etiam bonorum omnium auctoritate dignus in quem tantum Ecclesiæ munus conferatur. Es hujus Ecclesiæ Anglicæ et Hibernicæ supremus in terris moderator, sub quo quasi sub Moyse partem spiritus et magnam multorum curam atque administrationem commissam habeo.

Es etiam non modo legibus nostris tanti regni rex, sed etiam natura, quæ Majestatem tuam ita ad omnem excellentiam formavit, ut quæ singula in aliis exquisita sunt, ea in Majestate tua perfecta emineant. Video in regibus mediocre aliquid esse non posse, et auctoritate veteris proverbii in eo confirmor, et gaudeo hanc excellentiam non modo ad meliorem partem, sed etiam ad optimam esse translatam. Hæc non laudandæ Majestatis tuæ gratia, sed cohortandæ potius dico, ut res, in hac ætate tam illustres, uberrimos posthac et excellentissimos tantæ dignitatis splendores in constanti ætate ferant. Quanta enim ornamenta ingenii et doctrinæ, vel ab optima natura, vel bonis præceptoribus tribui poterant, eadem in te omnia excellentia sunt; et quod in primis laudabilissimum est, timor Dei, et veræ religionis studium; in quibus Majestas tua ea cum laude versatur, qua seipsum rex et propheta commendavit quum dixerat, *Senibus se intelligentiorem esse, quia mandata Dei inquirebat.*

His aliisque gravibus de causis commoveor, ut hunc librum, jam Latinum factum, nomini tuo offeram. Spero autem rei ipsi satisfactum hoc libro esse, qui non modo summam veræ doctrinæ continet, sed omnia adversariorum argumenta (quæ quidem recitatu digna sunt) refutat. Sed quia nimis curiosi quidam sunt, et nulla, ne diligenti quidem et plena rerum explicatione contenti, et eandem materiam argumentorum (ne nihil dicere videantur) in alias formas transmutant, et ordinem naturæ pro licentia ingeniorum confundunt; ideo nostram ad Stephani Gardineri librum responsionem, Latinam factam, brevi in lucem educes^b, ut nullus (ne sophistis quidem) ad contradicendum

^b [The death of Edward VI. prevented the execution of this design. The translation was afterwards undertaken by Foxe, the martyrologist, but was never published. An imperfect manuscript copy of it is still preserved among his papers in the British Museum.]

locus relictus sit: qua ratione putabo non modo uni, sed Gardinero etiam et Constantio quoque esse satisfactum; et quod de comœdiis ille dixit, hoc de personatis istis dicendum, “Unum cognoris, ambos noris.” Quod si quædam uno in libro pertractata sunt, quæ in altero prætermissa fuerint, iisdem ego responsionem meam adjungam, ut adversarii, si qui relictæ sint, vel non habeant quod objiciant, vel, si objecerint, videant quid responderi ad illa possit. Hæ sunt causæ, Rex nobilissime, quæ me ad emittendum hunc librum impulerunt, eumque sub Majestatis tuæ auctoritate divulgandum. Te spero ita hoc meum studium accepturum, quemadmodum et causæ æquitas fert, et officium meum postulat, et clementia tua in aliis honestis causis solet facere. Dominus Jesus Majestatem tuam servet. Lambethæ, Idibus Martiis, MDLIII.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

OUR Saviour Christ Jesus according to the will of his eternal Father, when the time thereto was fully accomplished, taking our nature upon him, came into this world from the high throne of his Father, to declare unto miserable sinners good news; to heal them that were sick; to make the blind to see, the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak; to set prisoners at liberty; to show that the time of grace and mercy was come; to give light to them that were in darkness and in the shadow of death; and to preach and give pardon and full remission of sin to all his elected. And to perform the same, he made a sacrifice and oblation of his own body upon the cross, which was a full redemption, satisfaction, and propitiation, for the sins of the whole world. And to commend this his sacrifice unto all his faithful people, and to confirm their faith and hope of eternal salvation in the same, he hath ordained a perpetual memory of his said sacrifice, daily to be used in the Church to his perpetual laud and praise, and to our singular comfort and consolation; that is to say, the celebration of his holy supper, wherein he doth not cease to give himself with all his benefits, to all those that duly receive the same supper according to his blessed ordinance.

But the Romish Antichrist, to deface this great benefit of Christ, hath taught that his sacrifice upon the cross is not sufficient hereunto, without another sacrifice devised by him, and made by the priest, or else without indulgences, beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other pelfry, to supply Christ's imperfection: and that Christian people cannot apply to themselves the benefits of Christ's passion, but that the same is in the distribution of the Bishop of Rome, or else that by Christ we have no full remission, but be delivered only from sin, and yet remaineth tem-

The great mercy and benefits of of God towards us. [1580.]

The erroneous doctrine of the papists obscuring the same. [1580.]

poral pain in Purgatory due for the same, to be remitted after this life by the Romish Antichrist and his ministers, who take upon them to do for us that thing, which Christ either would not or could not do. O heinous blasphemy and most detestable injury against Christ! O wicked abomination in the temple of

2 Thess. ii. God! O pride intolerable of Antichrist, and most manifest token of the son of perdition, extolling himself above God, and with Lucifer exalting his seat and power above the throne of God! For he that taketh upon him to supply that thing, which he pretendeth to be unperfect in Christ, must needs make himself above Christ, and so very Antichrist. For what is this else, but to be against Christ, and to bring him into contempt, as one that either for lack of charity would not, or for lack of power he could not, with all his blood-shedding and death, clearly deliver his faithful, and give them full remission of their sins, but that the full perfection thereof must be had at the hands of Antichrist of Rome and his ministers?

The state of religion brought in by the papists. [1580.]

What man of knowledge and zeal to God's honour can with dry eyes see this injury to Christ, and look upon the state of religion brought in by the papists, perceiving the true sense of God's word subverted by false glosses of man's devising, the true Christian religion turned into certain hypocritical and superstitious sects, the people praying with their mouths and hearing with their ears they wist not what, and so ignorant in God's word, that they could not discern hypocrisy and superstition from true and sincere religion? This was of late years the face of religion within this realm of England, and yet remaineth in divers realms. But, (thanks be to Almighty God and to the King's Majesty, with his father, a prince of most famous memory,) the superstitious sects of monks and friars, that were in this realm, be clean taken away; the Scripture is restored unto the proper and true understanding; the people may daily read and hear God's heavenly word, and pray in their own language which they understand, so that their hearts and mouths may go together, and be none of those people of whom Christ complained, saying, *These people honour me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me.* Thanks be to God, many corrupt weeds be plucked up, which were wont

Matt. xv.

to rot the flock of Christ, and to let the growing of the Lord's harvest.

But what availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as two chief roots remain unpulled up? whereof, so long as they remain, will spring again all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruption of his flock. The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing, and the roots in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar, (as they call it,) and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions.

These injuries to Christ be so intolerable, that no Christian heart can willingly bear them. Wherefore seeing that many have set to their hands and whetted their tools, to pluck up the weeds, and to cut down the tree of error, I, not knowing otherwise how to excuse myself at the last day, have in this book set to my hand and axe with the rest to cut down this tree, and to pluck up the weeds and plants by the roots, which our heavenly Father never planted, but were grafted and sown in his vineyard by his adversary the Devil, and Antichrist his minister. The Lord grant that this my travail and labour in his vineyard be not in vain, but that it may prosper and bring forth good fruits to his honour and glory. For when I see his vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth unto me, if I hold my peace, and put not to my hands and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard. God I take to witness, (who seeth the hearts of all men throughly unto the bottom,) that I take this labour for none other consideration, but for the glory of his name, and the discharge of my duty, and the zeal that I bear toward the flock of Christ. I know in what office God hath placed me, and to what purpose; that is to say, to set forth his word truly unto his people, to the uttermost of

The chief roots of all errors. [1580.]

What moved the author to write. [1580.]

my power, without respect of person, or regard of thing in the world, but of Him alone. I know what account I shall make to Him hereof at the last day, when every man shall answer for his vocation, and receive for the same, good or ill, according as he hath done. I know how Antichrist hath obscured the glory of God and the true knowledge of his word, overcasting the same with mists and clouds of error and ignorance, through false glosses and interpretations. It pitieth me to see the simple and hungry flock of Christ led into corrupt pastures, to be carried blindfold they know not whither, and to be fed with poison in the stead of wholesome meats.

A warning
given by
the author.
[1580.]
Jer. li.
Rev. xiv.
xvii. xviii.

And moved by the duty, office, and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning in his name unto all that professe Christ, that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls, and to beware of that great harlot, that is to say, the pestiferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk with her pleasant wine. Trust not her sweet promises, nor banquet with her; for instead of wine she will give you sour dregs, and for meat she will feed you with rank poison. But come to our Redeemer and Saviour Christ, who refresheth all that truly come unto him, be their anguish and heaviness never so great. Give credit unto him, in whose mouth was never found guile nor untruth. By him you shall be clearly delivered from all your diseases, of him you shall have full remission, *a pœna et a culpa*. He it is, that feedeth continually all that belong unto him with his own flesh that hanged upon the cross; and giveth them drink of the blood flowing out of his own side, and maketh to spring within them water that floweth unto everlasting life. Listen not to the false incantations, sweet whisperings, and crafty jugglings of the subtle papists, wherewith they have this many years deluded and bewitched the world; but hearken to Christ, give ear unto his words, which shall lead you the right way unto everlasting life, there with him to live ever as heirs of his kingdom. Amen.

Matt. xi.

Is. liii.
1 Pet. ii.

John iv.

^a The First Book is of the True and Catholic Doctrine and Use of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ.

THE Supper of the Lord, otherwise called the Holy CHAP. I.

^a [The library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge possesses a Collection of authorities *De Re Sacramentaria*, which was probably used by Cranmer in the composition of his *Defence*, &c. The extracts made from thence by Strype, with his accurate account of the manuscript, are subjoined, because they state briefly many of the principal points discussed in the following work. This Note-book, as Strype calls it, "consists of nothing but quotations out of ancient ecclesiastical authors about the Lord's Supper; interlined in many places by the Archbishop's pen. On the top of some of the pages are these sentences written by himself, being doctrines provable out of the sentences there produced and transcribed.

"Panis vocatur corpus Christi, et vinum sanguis.

"*Panis est corpus meum, et Vinum est sanguis meus, figurativæ sunt locutiones.*

"Quid significet hæc figura, *Edere carnem, et bibere sanguinem.*

"Mali non edunt et bibunt corpus et sanguinem Domini.

"Patres Vet. Testamenti edebant et bibebant Christum, sicut et nos.

"Sicut in Eucharistia, ita in Baptismo, præsens est Christus.

"Contra Transubstantiationem.

"After this follow these writings of the Archbishop's own hand.

"Multa affirmant crassi papistæ, seu Capernaitæ, quæ neque Scriptura neque ullus veterum unquam dixerat; viz.

"Quod accidentia maneat sine subjecto.

"Quod accidentia panis et vini sunt sacramenta: non panis et vinum.

"Quod panis non est figura, sed accidentia panis.

"Quod Christus non appellavit panem corpus suum.

"Quod cum Christus dixit, *Hoc est corpus meum*, pronomen *hoc* non refertur ad panem, sed ad corpus Christi.

"Quod tot corpora Christi accipimus, aut toties corpus ejus accipimus, quoties, aut in quot partes, dentibus secamus panem.

"Thus having set down divers assertions of papists, or Capernaites, as he styled them, which neither Scripture nor ancient fathers knew any thing of; his Notes proceed to state wherein papists and protestants disagree.

"Præcipua capita in quibus a papistis dissentimus.

"Christum papistæ statuunt in pane, nos in homine comedente:

"Illi in comedentis ore, nos in toto homine.

"Illi corpus Christi aiunt evolare, masticato vel consumpto pane: nos manere in homine dicimus, quamdiu membrum est Christi.

"Illi in pane statuunt per annum integrum, et diutius, si duret panis: nos in homine statuimus inhabitare, quamdiu templum Dei fuerit.

"Illorum sententia, quod ad realem præsentiam attinet, non amplius edit homo quam bellua, neque magis ei prodest, quam cuivis animanti."

Strype, *Cranm.* p. 262. The manuscript contains also some other scattered remarks by the Archbishop, besides those which are here extracted. C. C. C. C. cii. p. 151.]

BOOK
I.

Communion or Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, hath been of many men, and by sundry ways, very much abused ; but specially within these four or five hundred years. Of some it hath been used as a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and otherwise superstitiously, far from the intent that Christ did first ordain the same at the beginning ; doing therein great wrong and injury to his death and passion. And of other some it hath been very lightly esteemed, or rather contemned and despised, as a thing of small or of none effect. And thus between both the parties hath been much variance and contention in divers places of Christendom. Therefore to the intent that this holy sacrament, or Lord's Supper, may hereafter neither of the one party be contemned or lightly esteemed, nor of the other party be abused to any other purpose than Christ himself did first appoint and ordain the same, and that so the contention on both parties may be quieted and ended ; the most sure and plain way is, to cleave unto holy Scripture. Wherein whatsoever is found, must be taken for a most sure ground and an infallible truth ; and whatsoever cannot be grounded upon the same (touching our faith) is man's device, changeable and uncertain. And therefore here are set forth the very words that Christ himself and his apostle St. Paul spake, both of the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood, and also of the eating and drinking of the sacrament of the same.

CHAP.
II.

The eating
of the body
of Christ.
John vi.

First, as concerning the eating of the body and drinking of the blood of our Saviour Christ, he speaketh himself, in the sixth chapter of St. John, in this wise :

Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father : even so he that eateth me, shall live by me. This is the bread which came down from heaven :

not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever. CHAP.
II.

Of these words of Christ^b it is plain and manifest, that the eating of Christ's flesh, and drinking of his blood, is not like to the eating and drinking of other meats and drinks. ✓ For although without meat and drink man cannot live, yet it followeth not, that he that eateth and drinketh shall live for ever.

But as touching this meat and drink of the body and blood of Christ, it is true, both he that eateth and drinketh them, hath everlasting life; and also he that eateth and drinketh them not, hath not everlasting life. For to eat that meat and drink that drink, is to dwell in Christ and to have Christ dwelling in him^c.

And therefore no man can say or think^d, that he eateth the body of Christ or drinketh his blood, except he dwelleth in Christ and hath Christ dwelling in him. Thus have ye heard of the eating and drinking of the very flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ. ✓

Now as touching the sacraments of the same, our Saviour Christ did institute them in bread and wine, at his last supper, which he had with his Apostles the night before his death: at which time, as St. Matthew saith, CHAP.
III.

When they were eating, Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. The eating of the sacrament of his body.
Matt. xxvi.

This thing is rehearsed also of St. Mark, in these words:

As they did eat, Jesus took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And taking the cup, when he had given Mark xiv.

^b Augustin. In Joan. Tractat. 26. ^d Aug. De Civitate, lib. 21. cap. 25.

^c Eodem Tract.

BOOK. *thanks, he gave it to them : and they all drank of it. And*
 I. *he said to them, This is my blood of the new testament,*
which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will drink
no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink
it new in the kingdom of God.

The Evangelist St. Luke uttereth this matter on this wise :

Luke xxii. *When the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve*
Apostles with him. And he said unto them : I have greatly
desired to eat this Pascha with you before I suffer : for I
say unto you, henceforth I will not eat of it any more,
until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he took
the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide
it among you : for I say unto you, I will not drink of the
fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God come. And he
took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and
gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which is given
for you : this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also
when he had supped, he took the cup, saying, This cup is
the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.

Hitherto you have heard all that the Evangelists declare that Christ spake or did at his last supper, concerning the institution of the communion and sacrament of his body and blood. Now you shall hear what St. Paul saith concerning the same, in the tenth chapter of the First to the Corinthians, where he writeth thus :

1 Cor. x. *Is not the cup of blessing which we bless, a communion*
of the blood of Christ ? Is not the bread which we break, a
communion of the body of Christ ? We being many are
one bread and one body : for we all are partakers of one
bread and of one cup.

And in the eleventh he speaketh on this manner :

1 Cor. xi. *That which I delivered unto you I received of the Lord.*
For the Lord Jesus the same night in the which he was be-
trayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it,
and said, Take, eat ; this is my body, which is broken for
you : do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also he
took the cup, when supper was done, saying, This cup is

the new testament in my blood: do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, show forth the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat of this bread or drink of this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread, and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body. For this cause many are weak and sick among you, and many do sleep.

CHAP.
III.

By these words of Christ rehearsed of the Evangelists, and by the doctrine also of St. Paul, (which he confesseth that he received of Christ,) two things specially are to be noted.

First, that our Saviour Christ called the material bread which he brake, his body, and the wine which was the fruit of the vine, his blood.

CHAP.
IV.

Christ called the material bread his body.

And yet he spake not this to the intent that men should think, that material bread is his very body, or that his very body is material bread; neither that wine made of grapes is his very blood, or that his very blood is wine made of grapes; but to signify unto us (as St. Paul saith) that the cup is a communion of Christ's blood that was shed for us, and the bread is a communion of his flesh that was crucified for us. So that although, in the truth of his human nature, Christ be in heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, yet whosoever eateth of that bread in the supper of the Lord, according to Christ's institution and ordinance, is assured of Christ's own promise and testament, that he is a member of his body, and receiveth the benefits of his passion which he suffered for us upon the cross. And likewise he that drinketh of that holy cup in that supper of the Lord, according to Christ's institution, is certified by Christ's legacy and testament, that he is made partaker of the blood of Christ which was shed for us. And this meant St. Paul, when he saith, *Is not the cup of blessing which we bless, a communion of the blood of Christ? Is not the bread which we break, a communion of the body*

1 Cor. x.

Mark xiv.

1 Cor. x.

BOOK
I.

of Christ? So that no man can contemn or lightly esteem this holy communion, except he contemn also Christ's body and blood, and pass not, whether he have any fellowship with him or no. And of those men St. Paul saith, that they eat and drink their own damnation, because they esteem not the body of Christ.

1 Cor. xi.

CHAP.
V.

Evil men do
eat the sa-
crament,
but not the
body of
Christ.
John vi.

The second thing which may be learned of the foressaid words of Christ and St. Paul is this, that although none eateth the body of Christ and drinketh his blood, but they have eternal life, (as appeareth by the words before recited of St. John,) yet both the good and the bad do eat and drink the bread and wine, which be the sacraments of the same: but, beside the sacraments, the good eateth everlasting life; the evil, everlasting death. Therefore St. Paul saith: *Whosoever shall eat of the bread or drink of the cup of the Lord unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.* Here St. Paul saith not, that he that eateth the bread or drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, eateth or drinketh the body and blood of the Lord, but is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But what he eateth and drinketh St. Paul declareth, saying, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.*

1 Cor. xi.

1 Cor. xi.

Thus is declared the sum of all that Scripture speaketh of the eating and drinking, both of the body and blood of Christ, and also of the sacrament of the same.

CHAP.
VI.

These
things
suffice for
a Christian
man's faith,
concerning
this sacra-
ment.

And as these things be most certainly true, because they be spoken by Christ himself, the author of all truth, and by his holy apostle St. Paul, as he received them of Christ, so all doctrines contrary to the same be most certainly false and untrue, and of all Christian men to be eschewed, because they be contrary to God's word. And all doctrine concerning this matter, that is more than this, which is not grounded upon God's word, is of no necessity, neither ought the people's heads to be busied, or their consciences troubled with the same. So that things spoken and done by Christ, and written by the holy Evangelists and St. Paul, ought to suffice the faith of Christian people, as touching the doctrine

of the Lord's Supper, and holy communion or sacrament of his body and blood. CHAP. VI.

Which thing being well considered and weighed, shall be a just occasion to pacify and agree both parties, as well them that hitherto have contemned or lightly esteemed it, as also them which have hitherto, for lack of knowledge or otherwise, ungodly abused it.

Christ ordained the sacrament to move and stir all men to friendship, love, and concord, and to put away all hatred, variance, and discord, and to testify a brotherly and unfeigned love between all them that be the members of Christ; but the Devil, the enemy of Christ and of all his members, hath so craftily juggled herein, that of nothing riseth so much contention as of this holy sacrament. CHAP. VII.

God grant, that all contention set aside, both the parties may come to this holy communion with such a lively faith in Christ, and such an unfeigned love to all Christ's members, that as they carnally eat with their mouth this sacramental bread and drink the wine, so spiritually they may eat and drink the very flesh and blood of Christ, which is in heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father; and that finally by his means they may enjoy with him the glory and kingdom of heaven. Amen.

Although in this treaty of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, I have already sufficiently declared the institution and meaning of the same, according to the very words of the Gospel and of St. Paul, yet it shall not be in vain somewhat more at large to declare the same, according to the mind as well of holy Scripture as of old ancient authors; and that so sincerely and plainly, without doubts, ambiguities, or vain questions, that the very simple and unlearned people may easily understand the same, and be edified thereby. CHAP. VIII.

And this by God's grace is mine only intent and desire, that the flock of Christ dispersed in this realm (among whom I am appointed a special pastor) may no longer lack the commodity and fruit which springeth of this heavenly knowledge. For the more clearly it is understand, the more

BOOK sweetness, fruit, comfort, and edification it bringeth to the
I. godly receivers thereof. And to the clear understanding of
 this sacrament, divers things must be considered.

CHAP. First, that as all men of themselves be sinners, and through
IX. sin be in God's wrath, banished far away from him, con-
 demned to hell and everlasting damnation, and none is
 clearly innocent but Christ alone: so every soul inspired
 by God is desirous to be delivered from sin and hell, and
 to obtain at God's hands mercy, favour, righteousness, and
 everlasting salvation.

And this earnest and great desire is called in Scripture
 the hunger and thirst of the soul; with which kind of
Psalm xlii. hunger David was taken, when he said : *As an hart longeth
 for springs of water, so doth my soul long for thee, O God.*
Psalm lxi. My soul hath thirsted *after God, who is the well of life.*
 My soul thirsteth *for thee, my flesh wisheth for thee.*

And this hunger the silly, poor, sinful soul is driven unto
 by means of the law, which showeth unto her the horrible-
Rom. iv. ness of sin, the terror of God's indignation, and the horror
vii. viii. of death and everlasting damnation.

And when she seeth nothing but damnation for her of-
 fences by justice and accusation of the law, and this dam-
 nation is ever before her eyes; then, in this great distress,
 the soul being pressed with heaviness and sorrow seeketh
 for some comfort, and desireth some remedy for her miser-
 able and sorrowful estate. And this feeling of her damn-
 able condition, and greedy desire of refreshing, is the spi-
 ritual hunger of the soul.

And whosoever hath this godly hunger is blessed of God,
 and shall have meat and drink enough, as Christ himself
Matth. v. said : *Blessed be they that hunger and thirst for righteous-
 ness, for they shall be filled full.* And on the other side,
 they that see not their own sinful and damnable estate, but
 think themselves holy enough, and in good case and condi-
 tion enough, as they have no spiritual hunger, so shall they
 not be fed of God with any spiritual food. For as Almighty
Luke i. God feedeth them that be hungry, so doth he send away
 empty all that be not hungry.

But this hunger and thirst is not easily perceived of the carnal man : for when he heareth the Holy Ghost speak of meat and drink, his mind is by and by in the kitchen and buttery, and he thinketh upon his dishes and pots, his mouth and his belly. CHAP.
IX.

But the Scripture in sundry places useth special words, whereby to draw our gross minds from the phantasying of our teeth and belly, and from this carnal and fleshly imagination. For the Apostles and disciples of Christ, when they were yet carnal, knew not what was meant by this kind of hunger and meat, and therefore, when they desired him to eat, to withdraw their minds from carnal meat, he said unto them : *I have other meat to eat, which you know not.* And why John iv. knew they it not ? Forsooth because their minds were gross as yet, and had not received the fulness of the Spirit. And therefore our Saviour Christ, minding to draw them from this grossness, told them of another kind of meat than they phantasied ; as it were, rebuking them, for that they perceived not that there was any other kind of eating and drinking, besides that eating and drinking which is with the mouth and the throat.

Likewise when he said to the woman of Samaria : *Who- Ibid. soever shall drink of that water that I shall give him shall never be thirsty again :* they that heard him speak those words might well perceive, that he went about to make them well acquainted with another kind of drinking, than is the drinking with the mouth and throat. For there is no such kind of drink, that with once drinking can quench the thirst of a man's body for ever. Wherefore in saying, He shall never be thirsty again, he did draw their minds from drinking with the mouth unto another kind of drinking whereof they knew not, and unto another kind of thirsting wherewith as yet they were not acquainted. Also when our Saviour Christ said, *He that cometh to me shall not hunger ;* John vi. *and he that believeth on me shall never be thirsty ;* he gave them a plain watchword, that there was another kind of meat and drink than that wherewith he fed them at the other side of the water, and another kind of hungering and

BOOK thirsting than was the hungering and thirsting of the body.
I. By these words therefore, he drove the people to understand another kind of eating and drinking, of hungering and thirsting, than that which belongeth only for the preservation of temporal life.

Now then as the thing that comforteth the body is called meat and drink, of a like sort the Scripture calleth the same thing that comforteth the soul, meat and drink.

CHAP. Wherefore as here before in the first note is declared
X. the hunger and drought of the soul, so is it now se-

The spiritual food of the soul.

condly to be noted, what is the meat, drink, and food of the soul.

The meat, drink, food, and refreshing of the soul, is our Saviour Christ; as he said himself: *Come unto me all you that travail and be laden, and I will refresh you.—And if any man be dry, saith he, let him come to me and drink. He that believeth in me, floods of water of life shall flow out of his belly.—And I am the bread of life, saith Christ; he that cometh to me shall not be hungry; and he that believeth in me shall never be dry.* For as meat and drink do comfort the hungry body, so doth the death of Christ's body, and the shedding of his blood, comfort the soul, when she is after her sort hungry. What thing is it that comforteth and nourisheth the body? Forsooth, meat and drink. By what names then shall we call the body and blood of our Saviour Christ (which do comfort and nourish the hungry soul) but by the names of meat and drink? And this similitude caused our Saviour to say, *My flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink.* For there is no kind of meat that is comfortable to the soul, but only the death of Christ's blessed body; nor no kind of drink that can quench her thirst, but only the blood-shedding of our Saviour Christ, which was shed for her offences.

Ibid.

For as there is a carnal generation, and a carnal feeding and nourishment, so is there also a spiritual generation, and a spiritual feeding.

And as every man, by carnal generation of father and mother, is carnally begotten and born unto this mortal life,

so is every good Christian spiritually born by Christ unto eternal life. CHAP.
X.

And as every man is carnally fed and nourished in his body by meat and drink, even so is every good Christian man spiritually fed and nourished in his soul by the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ.

And as the body liveth by meat and drink, and thereby increaseth and groweth from a young babe unto a perfect man, (which thing experience teacheth us,) so the soul liveth by Christ himself, by pure faith eating his flesh and drinking his blood. And this Christ himself teacheth us in the sixth of John, saying, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you.* Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. *For my flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: even so he that eateth me, shall live by me.* And this St. Paul confessed of himself, saying, *That I have life, I have it by faith in the Son of God.* And now it is not I that live, but Christ liveth in me. John vi.
Gal. ii.

The third thing to be noted is this, that although our Saviour Christ resembleth his flesh and blood to meat and drink, yet he far passeth and excelleth all corporal meats and drinks. For although corporal meats and drinks do nourish and continue our life here in this world, yet they begin not our life. For the beginning of our life we have of our fathers and mothers; and the meat, after we be begotten, doth feed and nourish us, and so preserveth us for a time. But our Saviour Christ is both the first beginner of our spiritual life, (who first begetteth us unto God his Father,) and also afterward he is our lively food and nourishment. CHAP.
XI.
Christ far
excelleth all
corporal
food.

Moreover, meat and drink doth feed and nourish only our bodies; but Christ is the true and perfect nourishment both of body and soul. And besides that, bodily food pre-

BOOK

I.

John xi.

serveth the life but for a time, but Christ is such a spiritual and perfect food, that he preserveth both body and soul for ever; as he said unto Martha: *I am resurrection and life. He that believeth in me, although he die, yet shall he live. And he that liveth and believeth in me shall not die for ever.*

CHAP.

XII.

The sacraments were ordained to confirm our faith.

Fourthly, it is to be noted, that the true knowledge of these things is the true knowledge of Christ; and to teach these things is to teach Christ; and the believing and feeling of these things is the believing and feeling of Christ in our hearts. And the more clearly we see, understand, and believe these things, the more clearly we see and understand Christ, and have more fully our faith and comfort in him.

And although our carnal generation and our carnal nourishment be known to all men by daily experience and by our common senses; yet this our spiritual generation and our spiritual nutrition be so obscure and hid unto us, that we cannot attain to the true and perfect knowledge and feeling of them, but only by faith, which must be grounded upon God's most holy word and sacraments.

And for this consideration our Saviour Christ hath not only set forth these things most plainly in his holy word, that we may hear them with our ears; but he hath also ordained one visible sacrament of spiritual regeneration in water, and another visible sacrament of spiritual nourishment in bread and wine, to the intent that, as much as is possible for man, we may see Christ with our eyes, smell him at our nose, taste him with our mouths, grope him with our hands, and perceive him with all our senses. For as the word of God preached putteth Christ into our ears; so likewise these elements of water, bread, and wine, joined to God's word, do after a sacramental manner put Christ into our eyes, mouths, hands, and all our senses.

And for this cause Christ ordained baptism in water, that as surely as we see, feel, and touch water with our bodies, and be washed with water; so assuredly ought we to believe, when we be baptized, that Christ is verily present with us, and that by him we be newly born again spi-

ritually, and washed from our sins, and grafted in the stock of Christ's own body, and be apparelled, clothed, and harnessed with him in such wise, that as the Devil hath no power against Christ, so hath he none against us, so long as we remain grafted in that stock, and be clothed with that apparel, and harnessed with that armour. So that the washing in water of baptism is, as it were, a showing of Christ before our eyes, and a sensible touching, feeling, and groping of him, to the confirmation of the inward faith which we have in him.

And in like manner Christ ordained the sacrament of his body and blood in bread and wine, to preach unto us, that as our bodies be fed, nourished, and preserved with meat and drink, so (as touching our spiritual life towards God) we be fed, nourished, and preserved by the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; and also that he is such a preservation unto us, that neither the devils of hell, nor eternal death, nor sin, can be able to prevail against us, so long as by true and constant faith we be fed and nourished with that meat and drink. And for this cause Christ ordained this sacrament in bread and wine^c, (which we eat and drink, and be chief nutriments of our body,) to the intent that as surely as we see the bread and wine with our eyes, smell them with our noses, touch them with our hands, and taste them with our mouths; so assuredly ought we to believe, that Christ is our spiritual life and sustenance of our souls, like as the said bread and wine is the food and sustenance of our bodies. And no less ought we to doubt, that our souls be fed and live by Christ, than that our bodies be fed and live by meat and drink. Thus our Saviour Christ knowing us to be in this world, as it were, but babes and weaklings in faith, hath ordained sensible signs and tokens, whereby to allure and draw us to more strength and more constant faith in him. So that the eating and drinking of this sacramental bread and wine is, as it were, a showing of Christ before our eyes, a smelling of him with our noses, a feeling and groping of him with our hands, and an eating,

^c Hugo de S. Victore, *De Sacramentis*, tract. vi. cap. 3. [1580.]

BOOK chewing, digesting, and feeding upon him to our spiritual
I. strength and perfection.

CHAP. Fifthly, it is to be noted, that although there be many
XIII. kinds of meats and drinks which feed the body, yet our Saviour Christ (as many ancient authors^f write) ordained this sacrament of our spiritual feeding in bread and wine, rather than in other meats and drinks, because that bread and wine do most lively represent unto us the spiritual union and knot of all faithful people, as well unto Christ, as also amongst themselves. For like as bread is made of a great number of grains of corn, ground, baken, and so joined together that thereof is made one loaf; and an infinite number of grapes be pressed together in one vessel, and thereof is made wine; likewise is the whole multitude of true Christian people spiritually joined, first to Christ, and then among themselves together, in one faith, one baptism, one holy spirit, one knot and bond of love.

Wherefore
this sacra-
ment was
ordained in
bread and
wine.

CHAP. Sixthly, it is to be noted, that as the bread and wine
XIV. which we do eat, be turned into our flesh and blood, and be made our very flesh and very blood, and be so joined and mixed with our flesh and blood that they be made one whole body together, even so be all faithful Christians spiritually turned into the body of Christ, and be so joined unto Christ, and also together among themselves, that they do make but one mystical body of Christ, as St. Paul saith:

The unity
of Christ's
mystical
body.

1 Cor. x. *We be one bread and one body, as many as be partakers of one bread and one cup.* And as one loaf is given among many men, so that every one is partaker of the same loaf, and likewise one cup of wine is distributed unto many persons, whereof every one is partaker; even so our Saviour Christ (whose flesh and blood be represented by the mystical bread and wine in the Lord's Supper) doth give himself unto all his true members, spiritually to feed them, nourish them, and to give them continual life by him^g. And as the branches of a tree, or member of a body, if they be

^f Hugo de S. Victore, *De Sacramentis*, tract. vi. cap. 3. [1551.]

Rabanus, *De Inst. Clericorum*, lib. i. cap. 31. Bernardus, *De Cæna Dom.* FMBD.

^g Dionysius, *Eccles. Hierar.* cap. 3. [1580.]

dead or cut off, they neither live, nor receive any nourishment or sustenance of the body or tree; so likewise ungodly and wicked people, which be cut off from Christ's mystical body or be dead members of the same, do not spiritually feed upon Christ's body and blood, nor have any life, strength, or sustentation thereby.

CHAP.
XIV.

Seventhly, it is to be noted, that whereas nothing in this life is more acceptable before God, or more pleasant unto man, than Christian people to live together quietly in love and peace, unity and concord: this sacrament doth most aptly and effectuously move us thereunto. For when we be made all partakers of this one table, what ought we to think, but that we be all members of one spiritual body, (whereof Christ is the head,) that we be joined together in one Christ, as a great number of grains of corn be joined together in one loaf. Surely they have very hard and stony hearts, which with these things be not moved. And more cruel and unreasonable be they than brute beasts, that cannot be persuaded to be good to their Christian brethren and neighbours, (for whom Christ suffered death,) when in this Sacrament they be put in remembrance, that the Son of God bestowed his life for his enemies. For we see by daily experience, that eating and drinking together maketh friends, and continueth friendship. Much more then ought the table of Christ to move us so to do. Wild beasts and birds be made gentle by giving them meat and drink; why then should not Christian men wax meek and gentle with this heavenly meat of Christ? Hereunto we be stirred and moved as well by the bread and wine in this holy Supper, as by the words of holy Scripture recited in the same. Wherefore whose heart soever this holy sacrament, communion, and supper of Christ, will not kindle with love unto his neighbours, and cause him to put out of his heart all envy, hatred, and malice, and to grave in the same all amity, friendship, and concord, he deceiveth himself if he think that he hath the spirit of Christ dwelling within him.

CHAP.
XV.

This sacrament moveth all men to love and friendship.

But all these foresaid godly admonitions, exhortations, and comforts, do the papists (as much as lieth in them)

BOOK take away from all Christian people by their transubstan-
I. tiation.

The doc-
trine of
transub-
stantiation
doth clean
subvert our
faith in
Christ.

For if we receive no bread nor wine in the holy communion, then all these lessons and comforts be gone, which we should learn and receive by eating of the bread and drinking of the wine. And that phantastical imagination giveth an occasion utterly to subvert our whole faith in Christ. For if this sacrament be ordained in bread and wine, which be foods for the body, to signify and declare unto us our spiritual food by Christ, then if our corporal feeding upon the bread and wine be but phantastical, (so that there is no bread and wine there indeed to feed upon, although they appear there to be,) then it doth us to understand, that our spiritual feeding in Christ is also phantastical, and that indeed we feed not of him. Which sophistry is so devilish and wicked, and so much injurious to Christ, that it could not come from any other person but only from the Devil himself, and from his special minister Antichrist.

CHAP.
XVI.

The spirit-
ual eating is
with the
heart, not
with the
teeth.

The eight thing that is to be noted is, that this spiritual meat of Christ's body and blood, is not received in the mouth, and digested in the stomach, (as corporal meats and drinks commonly be,) but it is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith. And the true eating and drinking of the said body and blood of Christ, is with a constant and a lively faith to believe, that Christ gave his body and shed his blood upon the cross for us, and that he doth so join and incorporate himself to us, that he is our head, and we his members, and flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, having him dwelling in us, and we in him. And herein standeth the whole effect and strength of this sacrament. And this faith God worketh inwardly in our hearts by his Holy Spirit, and confirmeth the same outwardly to our ears by hearing of his word, and to our other senses by eating and drinking of the sacramental bread and wine in his holy Supper.

What thing then can be more comfortable to us, than to eat this meat and drink this drink? Whereby Christ certieth us, that we be spiritually and truly fed and nourished

by him, and that we dwell in him and he in us. Can this be showed unto us more plainly, than when he saith himself, *He that eateth me, shall live by me.* CHAP.
XVI.

John vi.

Wherefore whosoever doth not contemn the everlasting life, how can he but highly esteem this sacrament? How can he but embrace it, as a sure pledge of his salvation? And when he seeth godly people devoutly receive the same, how can he but be desirous oftentimes to receive it with them? Surely no man that well understandeth and diligently weigheth these things, can be without a great desire to come to this holy Supper.

All men desire to have God's favour; and when they know the contrary, that they be in his indignation and cast out of his favour, what thing can comfort them? How be their minds vexed! What trouble is in their consciences! All God's creatures seem to be against them, and do make them afraid, as things being ministers of God's wrath and indignation towards them. And rest and comfort can they find none, neither within them nor without them. And in this case they do hate as well God as the Devil; God as an unmerciful and extreme judge, and the Devil as a most malicious and cruel tormentor.

And in this sorrowful heaviness, holy Scripture teacheth them, that our heavenly Father can by no means be pleased with them again, but by the sacrifice and death of his only-begotten Son, whereby God hath made a perpetual amity and peace with us, doth pardon the sins of them that believe in him, maketh them his children, and giveth them to his first-begotten Son Christ, to be incorporate into him, to be saved by him, and to be made heirs of heaven with him. And in the receiving of the holy Supper of our Lord, we be put in remembrance of this his death, and of the whole mystery of our redemption. In the which Supper is made mention of his testament, and of the aforesaid communion of us with Christ, and of the remission of our sins by his sacrifice upon the cross.

Wherefore in this sacrament (if it be rightly received with a true faith) we be assured that our sins be forgiven,

BOOK
I.

and the league of peace, and the testament of God, is confirmed between him and us, so that whosoever by a true faith doth eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood, hath everlasting life by him. Which thing when we feel in our hearts at the receiving of the Lord's Supper, what thing can be more joyful, more pleasant, or more comfortable unto us ?

All this to be true, is most certain by the words of Christ himself, when he did first institute his holy Supper the night before his death, as it appeareth as well by the words of the Evangelists as of St. Paul: *Do this*, saith Christ, *as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.* And St. Paul saith: *As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show the Lord's death until he come.* And again, Christ said, *This cup is a new testament in mine own blood, which shall be shed for the remission of sins.*

Luke xxii.

1 Cor. xi.

Matt. xxvi.

Mark xiv.

Luke xxii.

This doctrine here recited, may suffice for all that be humble and godly and seek nothing that is superfluous, but that is necessary and profitable. And therefore unto such persons may be made here an end of this book. But unto them that be contentious papists and idolaters, nothing is enough. And yet because they shall not glory in their subtle inventions and deceivable doctrine, (as though no man were able to answer them,) I shall desire the readers of patience, to suffer me a little while to spend some time in vain, to confute their most vain vanities. And yet the time shall not be altogether spent in vain, for thereby shall more clearly appear the light from the darkness, the truth from false sophistical subtleties, and the certain word of God from men's dreams and phantastical inventions.

CHAP.
XVII.

Four principal errors of the papists. The first is of transubstantiation.

But these things cannot manifestly appear to the reader, except the principal points be first set out, wherein the papists vary from the truth of God's word ; which be chiefly four.

First, the papists say, that in the Supper of the Lord after the words of consecration (as they call it) there is none other substance remaining but the substance of Christ's flesh and blood, so that there remaineth neither bread to be

eaten, nor wine to be drunken. And although there be the colour of bread and wine, the savour, the smell, the bigness, the fashion, and all other (as they call them) accidents or qualities and quantities of bread and wine, yet (say they) there is no very bread nor wine, but they be turned into the flesh and blood of Christ. And this conversion they call *transubstantiation*, that is to say, turning of one substance into another substance. And although all the accidents, both of the bread and wine, remain still, yet (say they) the same accidents be in no manner of thing; but hang alone in the air, without any thing to stay them upon. For in the body and blood of Christ (say they) these accidents cannot be, nor yet in the air, for the body and blood of Christ and the air, be neither of that bigness, fashion, smell, nor colour, that the bread and wine be. Nor in the bread and wine (say they) these accidents cannot be; for the substance of bread and wine (as they affirm) be clean gone. And so there remaineth whiteness, but nothing is white: there remaineth colours, but nothing is coloured therewith: there remaineth roundness, but nothing is round: and there is bigness, and yet nothing is big: there is sweetness, without any sweet thing: softness, without any soft thing: breaking, without any thing broken: division, without any thing divided: and so other qualities and quantities, without any thing to receive them. And this doctrine they teach as a necessary article of our faith.

But it is not the doctrine of Christ, but the subtle invention of Antichrist, first decreed by Innocent the Third ^h, and after more at large set forth by school authors, whose study was ever to defend and set abroad to the world all such matters as the Bishop of Rome had once decreed. And the Devil by his minister Antichrist, had so dazzled the eyes of a great multitude of Christian people in these latter days, that they sought not for their faith at the clear light of God's word, but at the Romish Antichrist, believing whatsoever he prescribed unto them, yea though it were

^h *De Summa Trinit. et Fide Catholica*, "Firmiter," "Paragrapho," "Una." [1580.]

BOOK
I.

against all reason, all senses, and God's most holy word also. For else he could not have been very Antichrist indeed, except he had been so repugnant unto Christ, whose doctrine is clean contrary to this doctrine of Antichrist. For Christ teacheth, that we receive very bread and wine in the most blessed Supper of the Lord, as sacraments to admonish us that as we be fed with bread and wine bodily, so we be fed with the body and blood of our Saviour Christ spiritually. As in our baptism we receive very water to signify unto us, that as water is an element to wash the body outwardly, so be our souls washed by the Holy Ghost inwardly.

The second
is of the
presence of
Christ in
this sacra-
ment.

The second principal thing, wherein the papists vary from the truth of God's word, is this. They say that the very natural flesh and blood of Christ, which suffered for us upon the cross, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father in heaven, is also really, substantially, corporally and naturally, in or under the accidents of the sacramental bread and wine, which they call the forms of bread and wine. And yet here they vary not a little among themselves. For some say, that the very natural body of Christ is there, but not naturally nor sensibly. And other say, that it is there naturally and sensibly, and of the same bigness and fashion that it is in heaven, and as the same was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, and that it is there broken and torn in pieces with our teeth. And this appeareth partly by the school authors, and partly by the confession of Berengariusⁱ, which Nicholas the Second constrained him to make, which was this^k: that of the sacraments of the Lord's table, the said Berengarius should promise to hold that faith which the said Pope Nicholas and his council held; which was, that not only the sacraments of bread and wine, but also the very flesh and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ, are sensibly handled of the priest in the altar, broken and torn with the teeth of the faithful people. But

ⁱ *De Consecrat.* Distin. 2. "Ego Berengarius." Lege Roffen. *Contra Ecclamp.* in proœmio, lib. iii. corroborat. 5. [1580.]

^k [See Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* Cent. xi. ch. iii. §. 13, &c.]

the true catholic faith grounded upon God's most infallible word teacheth us, that our Saviour Christ (as concerning his man's nature and bodily presence) is gone up unto heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and there shall he tarry until the world's end, at what time he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead, as he saith himself in many scriptures: *I forsake the world,* John xvi. saith he, *and go to my Father.* And in another place he saith: *You shall ever have poor men among you, but me you shall not ever have.* And again he saith, *Many hereafter shall come and say, Look, here is Christ, or Look, there he is, but believe them not.* And St. Peter saith in the Acts, *That heaven must receive Christ, until the time that all things shall be restored.* And St. Paul, writing to the Colossians, agreeth hereto, saying, *Seek for things that be above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of the Father.* And St. Paul, speaking of the very sacrament, saith: *As often as you shall eat this bread and drink this cup, show forth the Lord's death until he come.* "Till he come," saith St. Paul, signifying that he is not there corporally present. For what speech were this, or who useth of him that is already present to say, "Until he come?" For "Until he come" signifieth that he is not yet present. This is the catholic faith, which we learn from our youth in our common Creed, and which Christ taught, the Apostles followed, and the Martyrs confirmed with their blood.

And although Christ in his human nature substantially, really, corporally, naturally and sensibly, be present with his Father in heaven, yet sacramentally and spiritually he is here present. For in water, bread, and wine, he is present as in signs and sacraments, but he is indeed spiritually in the faithful Christian people, which according to Christ's ordinance be baptized, or receive the holy communion, or unfeignedly believe in him. Thus have you heard the second principal article, wherein the papists vary from the truth of God's word and from the catholic faith.

Now the third thing, wherein they vary, is this:

The papists say, that evil and ungodly men receive in

The third
is, that evil

BOOK
I.

men eat and
drink the
very body
and blood
of Christ.

this Sacrament the very body and blood of Christ, and eat and drink the selfsame thing that the good and godly men do. But the truth of God's word is contrary, that all those that be godly members of Christ, as they corporally eat the bread and drink the wine, so spiritually they eat and drink Christ's very flesh and blood; and as for the wicked members of the Devil, they eat the sacramental bread and drink the sacramental wine, but they do not spiritually eat Christ's flesh nor drink his blood, but they eat and drink their own damnation.

The fourth
is of the
daily sa-
crifice of
Christ.

The fourth thing, wherein the popish priests dissent from the manifest word of God, is this: they say, that they offer Christ every day for remission of sin, and distribute by their masses the merits of Christ's passion. But the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists do say, that Christ himself in his own person made a sacrifice for our sins upon the cross, by whose wounds all our diseases were healed, and our sins pardoned; and so did never no priest, man, nor creature but he, nor he did the same never more than once. And the benefit hereof is in no man's power to give unto any other, but every man must receive it at Christ's hands himself, by his own faith and belief, as the Prophet saith.

Habak. ii.

HERE ENDETH THE FIRST BOOK.

The Second Book is against the Error of Transubstantiation.

THUS have you heard declared four things, wherein chiefly the papistical doctrine varieth from the true word of God and from the old catholic Christian faith, in this matter of the Lord's Supper. CHAP. I.

The confutation of the error of transubstantiation.

Now, lest any man should think that I feign any thing of mine own head without any other ground or authority, you shall hear by God's grace as well the errors of the papists confuted, as the catholic truth defended, both by God's most certain word, and also by the most old approved authors and martyrs of Christ's Church.

And first, that bread and wine remain after the words of consecration, and be eaten and drunken in the Lord's Supper, is most manifest by the plain words of Christ himself, when he ministered the same Supper unto his disciples. For as the Evangelists write, *Christ took bread, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body.* CHAP. II.

The papistical doctrine is contrary to God's word. Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

Here the papists triumph of these words, when Christ said, *This is my body*, which they call the words of consecration. For (say they) as soon as these words be fully ended, there is no bread left, nor none other substance, but only Christ's body. When Christ said "this," the bread (say they) remained. And when he said "is," yet the bread remained. Also when he added "my," the bread remained still. And when he said "be," yet the bread was there still. But when he had finished the whole sentence, *This is my body*, then (say they) the bread was gone, and there remained no substance but Christ's body! as though the bread could not remain, when it is made a sacrament. But this negative, that there is no bread, they make of their own brains by their Unwritten Verities. Luke xxii.

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II.

O, good Lord, how would they have bragged if Christ had said, 'This is no bread!' But Christ spake not that negative, 'This is no bread,' but said affirmingly, *This is my body*, not denying the bread, but affirming that his body was eaten (meaning spiritually) as the bread was eaten corporally.

And that this was the meaning of Christ appeareth plainly by St. Paul, in the tenth chapter to the Corinthians, the First Epistle, where he speaking of the same matter saith :
 1 Cor. x. *Is not the bread which we break*, the communion of the body of Christ? Who understood the mind of Christ better than St. Paul, to whom Christ showed his most secret counsels? And St. Paul is not afraid, for our better understanding of Christ's words, somewhat to alter the same, lest we might stand stiffly in the letters and syllables, and err in mistaking of Christ's words. For whereas our Saviour Christ brake the bread and said, *This is my body*; St. Paul saith, that the bread which we break is the communion of Christ's body. Christ said, "his body:" and St. Paul said, "the communion of his body:" meaning, nevertheless, both one thing, that they which eat the bread worthily, do eat spiritually Christ's very body. And so Christ calleth the bread his body, (as the old authors report,) because it representeth his body, and signifieth unto them which eat that bread according to Christ's ordinance, that they do spiritually eat his body, and be spiritually fed and nourished by him, and yet the bread remaineth still there, as a sacrament to signify the same. But of these words of consecration shall be spoken hereafter more at large.

Therefore to return to the purpose, that the bread remaineth and is eaten in this sacrament, appeareth by the words which go before the consecration. For that Christ
 Matt. xxvi. *took bread, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take eat*: all this was done and spoken before the words of consecration. Wherefore they must needs be understand of the very bread, that Christ took bread, brake bread, gave bread to his disciples, commanding them to take bread, and eat bread. But the same is more plain and

evident of the wine, that it remaineth and is drunken at the Lord's Supper, as well by the words that go before as by the words that follow after the consecration. For before the words of consecration, Christ took the cup of wine, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, *Drink you all of this.* CHAP. II. Matt. xxvi. And after the words of consecration followeth, *They drank all of it.* Mark xiv.

Now I ask all the papists, what thing it was that Christ commanded his disciples to drink, when he said, 'Drink you all of this?' The blood of Christ was not yet there, by their own confession, for it was spoken before the consecration: therefore it could be nothing else but wine that he commanded them to drink.

Then I ask the papists once again, whether the disciples drank wine or not? If they say Yea, then let them recant their error, that there was no wine remaining after the consecration. If they say Nay, then they condemn the Apostles of disobedience to Christ's commandment, which drank not wine as he commanded them. Or rather they reprove Christ as a juggler, which commanded his Apostles to drink wine, and when they came to the drinking thereof, he himself had conveyed it away.

Moreover, before Christ delivered the cup of wine to his disciples, he said unto them, *Divide this among you.* Luke xxii.

Here I would ask the papists another question; what thing it was that Christ commanded his disciples to divide among them? I am sure they will not say it was the cup, except they be disposed to make men laugh at them. Nor I think they will not say, it was the blood of Christ, as well because the words were spoken before the consecration, as because the blood of Christ is not divided, but spiritually given whole in the sacrament. Then could it be understood of nothing else but of wine, which they should divide among them, and drink all together.

Also when the communion was ended, Christ said unto his Apostles: *Verily I say unto you, that I will drink no more henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day that I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.* Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

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II.

By these words it is clear, that it was very wine that the Apostles drank at that godly supper. For the blood of Christ is not the fruit of the vine, nor the accidents of wine; nor none other thing is the fruit of the vine, but very wine only.

How could Christ have expressed more plainly, that bread and wine remain, than by taking the bread in his hands, and breaking it himself, and giving unto his disciples, commanding them to eat it? And by taking the cup of wine in his hands, and delivering it unto them, commanding them to divide it among them and to drink it, and calling it the fruit of the vine? These words of Christ be so plain, that if an angel of heaven would tell us the contrary, he ought not to be believed: and then much less may we believe the subtle lying of the papists.

If Christ would have had us to believe as a necessary article of our faith, that there remaineth neither bread nor wine, would he have spoken after this sort, using all such terms and circumstances as should make us believe that still there remaineth bread and wine? What manner of teacher make they of Christ that say, he meant one thing, when his words be clean contrary? What Christian heart can patiently suffer this contumely of Christ?

But what crafty teachers be these papists, who devise phantasies of their own heads directly contrary to Christ's teaching, and then set the same abroad to Christian people, to be most assuredly believed as God's own most holy word! St. Paul did not so, but followed herein the manner of Christ's speaking, in calling of bread "bread," and wine "wine," and never altering Christ's words herein: *The bread which we break, saith he, is it not the communion of Christ's body?*

1 Cor. x.

Now I ask again of the papists, whether he spake this of the bread consecrated or not consecrated? They cannot say that he spake it of the bread unconsecrated, for that is not the communion of Christ's body by their own doctrine. And if St. Paul spake it of bread consecrated, then they must needs confess, that after consecration such bread re-

maineth, as is broken bread, which can be none other than very true material bread. And straightways after, St. Paul saith in the same place, *that we be partakers of one bread and one cup*. And in the next chapter, speaking more fully of the same matter, four times he nameth the bread and the cup, never making mention of any transubstantiation, or remaining of accidents without any substance; which things he would have made some mention of, if it had been a necessary article of our faith to believe that there remaineth no bread nor wine. Thus it is evident and plain by the words of the Scripture, that after consecration remaineth bread and wine, and that the papistical doctrine of transubstantiation is directly contrary to God's word.

Let us now consider also, how the same is against natural reason and natural operation^a; which although they prevail not against God's word, yet when they be joined with God's word, they be of great moment to confirm any truth. Natural reason abhorreth *vacuum*, that is to say, that there should be any empty place, wherein no substance should be. But if there remain no bread nor wine, the place where they were before, and where their accidents be, is filled with no substance, but remaineth *vacuum*, clean contrary to the order of nature.

We see also that the wine, though it be consecrated, yet will it turn to vinegar, and the bread will mould, which then be nothing else but sour wine and moulded bread, which could not wax sour nor mouldy, if there were no bread nor wine there at all.

And if the sacraments were now brent, (as in the old Church they burned all that remained uneaten,) let the papists tell what is brent. They must needs say, that it is either bread, or the body of Christ. But bread (say they) is none there. Then must they needs burn the body of Christ, and be called Christ-burners, (as heretofore they have burned many of his members,) except they will say, that accidents burn alone without any substance, contrary to all the course of nature.

^a See chap. xiv.

CHAP.
II.

1 Cor. x.

CHAP.
III.

The papistical doctrine
is against
reason.

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II.**

The sacramental bread and wine also will nourish, which nourishment naturally cometh of the substance of the meats and drinks, and not of the accidents.

The wine also will poison, (as divers Bishops of Rome have had experiences, both in poisoning of other, and being poisoned themselves,) which poisoning they cannot ascribe to the most wholesome blood of our Saviour Christ, but only to the poisoned wine.

And most of all, it is against the nature of accidents to be in nothing. For the definition of accidents is to be in some substance, so that if they be, they must needs be in something. And if they be in nothing, then they be not.

And a thousand things mo of like foolishness do the papists affirm by their transubstantiation, contrary to all nature and reason; as that two bodies be in one place, and one body in many places at one time, and that substances be gendered of accidents only, and accidents converted into substances, and a body to be in a place and occupy no room, and generation to be without corruption, and corruption without generation, with many such like things, against all order and principles of nature and reason.

**CHAP.
IV.**

The papistical doctrine is also against all our senses.

The papistical doctrine is also against all our outward senses, called our five wits. For our eyes say, they see there bread and wine, our noses smell bread and wine, our mouths taste, and our hands feel bread and wine. And although the articles of our faith be above all our outward senses, so that we believe things which we can neither see, feel, hear, smell, nor taste, yet they be not contrary to our senses; at the least so contrary, that in such things which we from time to time do see, smell, feel, hear, and taste, we shall not trust our senses, but believe clean contrary. Christ never made no such article of our faith.

Our faith teacheth us to believe things that we see not; but it doth not bid us, that we shall not believe that we see daily with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and grope with our hands. For although our senses cannot reach so far as our faith doth, yet so far as the compass of our senses doth usually reach, our faith is not contrary to the same, but ra-

ther our senses do confirm our faith. Or else what availed it to St. Thomas for the confirmation of Christ's resurrection, that he did put his hand into Christ's side, and felt his wounds, if he might not trust his senses nor give no credit thereto? CHAP.
IV.

John xx.

And^b what a wide door is here opened to Valentinianus, Marcion, and other heretics, which said that Christ was not crucified, but that Simon Cyrenæus was crucified for him, although to the sight of the people it seemed that Christ was crucified! Or to such heretics as said, that Christ was no man, although to men's sights he appeared in the form of man, and seemed to be hungry, dry, weary; to weep, sleep, eat, drink, yea and to die like as other men do. For if we once admit this doctrine, then no credit is to be given to our senses, we open a large field, and give a great occasion unto an innumerable rabblement of most heinous heresies.

And if there be no trust to be given to our senses in this matter of the sacrament, why then do the papists so stoutly affirm, that the accidents remain after the consecration, which cannot be judged but by the senses? For the Scripture speaketh no word of the accidents of bread and wine, but of the bread and wine themselves. And it is against the nature and definition of accidents to be alone without any substance. Wherefore if we may not trust our senses in this matter of the sacrament, then if the substance of the bread and wine be gone, why may we not then say, that the accidents be gone also? And if we must needs believe our senses, as concerning the accidents of bread and wine, why may we not do the like of the substance, and that rather than of the accidents? Forasmuch as after the consecration, the Scripture saith in no place, that there is no substance of bread nor of wine, but calleth them still by such names as signify the substances and not the accidents.

And, finally, if our senses be daily deceived in this matter, then is the sensible sacrament nothing else but an elusion

^b *Lege Aug. In Psal. xxix. Præfat. Enarrationis 2., et Hilarium De Trin. lib. iii. et Contra Constantium. EMBD.*

BOOK of our senses. And so we make much for their purpose
II. that said, that Christ was a crafty juggler, that made things to appear to men's sights that indeed were no such things, but forms only, figures, and appearances of them.

But to conclude in few words this process of our senses, let all the papists lay their heads together, and they shall never be able to show one article of our faith so directly contrary to our senses, that all our senses by daily experience shall affirm a thing to be, and yet our faith shall teach us the contrary thereunto.

CHAP. Now forasmuch as it is declared, how this papistical opinion
V. of transubstantiation is against the word of God, against nature, against reason, and against all our senses, we shall show furthermore, that it is against the faith and doctrine of the old authors of Christ's Church, beginning at those authors, which were nearest unto Christ's time, and therefore might best know the truth herein^c.

The papistical doctrine is contrary to the faith of the old authors of Christ's Church.

Justinus.

First, Justinus, a great learned man and an holy martyr, the oldest author that this day is known to write any treaty upon the sacraments, and wrote not much above one hundred years after Christ's ascension.

He writeth in his second Apology^d, "That the bread, water, and wine in this sacrament are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be meats ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called *Eucharistia*, and be called also the body and blood

^c Ignatius, *Ad Philadelphenses* : "Una est caro Domini Jesu, et unus ejus sanguis qui pro nobis fusus est : unus etiam panis pro omnibus confractus, et unus calix totius Ecclesiæ." **EMBD.** [Cranmer quotes from the Epistle as it stood in his time, before the interpolations had been pointed out. See *Authorities* in Appendix.]

Clemens in *Padagogo*, lib. ii. cap. 2. "Ipse quoque vino usus est, nam ipse quoque homo ; et vinum benedixit, cum dixit ; *Accipite bite, hoc est sanguis meus*, sanguis vitis ; Verbum, quod pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum, sanctum lætitiæ fluentum allegorice significat." Et mox : "Quod autem vinum esset, quod benedictum est, ostendit rursum dicens discipulis : *Non bibam ex fructu vitis hujus donec bibero ipsum vobiscum in regno Patris mei.*"

"Pontifex opertum panem et indivisum aperit, in frusta concidens, &c." Dionysius, *Eccles. Hier.* cap. iii. **EMBD.**

^d [Ed. Bened. *Apol.* i. p. 83. See book iii. ch. 8.]

“ of Christ. And that it is lawful for none to eat or drink
 “ of them, but that profess Christ, and live according to
 “ the same. And yet the same meat and drink,” saith he,
*“ is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our
 “ bodies.”*

By which saying it is evident, that Justinus thought that the bread and wine remained still ; for else it could not have been turned into our flesh and blood, to nourish our bodies.

Next him was Irenæus^c, above one hundred and fifty years after Christ, who, as it is supposed, could not be deceived in the necessary points of our faith, for he was a disciple of Polycarpus, which was disciple to St. John the Evangelist. This Irenæus followeth the sense of Justinus wholly in this matter, and almost also his words, saying, “ that the bread wherein we give thanks unto God, although
 “ it be *of the earth*, yet when the name of God is called
 “ upon it, it is not then common bread, but the bread of
 “ thanksgiving, having two things in it, *one earthly*, and the
 “ other heavenly.” What meant he by the heavenly thing, but the sanctification which cometh by the invocation of the name of God? And what by the earthly thing, but the very bread, which, as he said before, is of the earth, and which also, he saith, doth nourish our bodies, as other bread doth which we do use^f?

Shortly after Irenæus was Origen, about two hundred years after Christ’s ascension ; who also affirmeth, that the material bread remaineth, saying, “ that *the matter of the
 “ bread* availeth nothing, but *goeth down into the belly*,

^c Irenæus *Contra Valentin.* lib. iv. cap. 34. [ed. Bened. *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iv. cap. 18.]

^f Et idem Irenæus, lib. v : “ Quando mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia corporis et sanguinis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia.” Et in eodem : “ Cum membra ejus sumus, et per creaturam nutrimur, eum calicem qui est creatura suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora.” Idem, lib. iv. cap. 34 : “ Quomodo constabit eum panem, in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, corpus esse Domini sui, et calicem sanguinem ejus, si non ipsum Fabricatoris mundi filium esse dicant ?” EMBD.

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II.

“ *and is avoided downward*; but the word of God, spoken upon the bread, is it that availeth^s.”

After Origen came Cyprian the holy martyr, about the year of our Lord 250, who writeth against them that ministered this sacrament with water only, and without wine. “ Forasmuch,” saith he, “ as Christ said, I am a true vine, “ therefore *the blood of Christ is not water, but wine*; nor “ *it cannot be thought that his blood*, whereby we be re- “ deemed and have life, *is in the cup, when wine is not in* “ *the cup, whereby the blood of Christ is showed^h*.”

What words could Cyprian have spoken more plainly, to show that the wine doth remain, than to say thus: “ If “ there be no wine, there is no blood of Christ?”

And yet he speaketh shortly after, as plainly, in the same Epistle: “ Christ,” saith he, “ taking the cup, blessed it, Matt. xxvi. “ and gave it to his disciples, saying, *Drink you all of this, “ for this is the blood of the new testament, which shall be “ shed for many, for the remission of sins. I say unto you, “ that from henceforth I will not drink of this creature of “ the vine, until I shall drink with you new wine in the “ kingdom of my Father*. By these words of Christ,” saith St. Cyprian, “ we perceive, that the cup which the Lord “ offered, was not only water, but also wine; and that it “ *was wine, that Christ called his blood*; whereby it is clear, “ that *Christ's blood is not offered, if there be no wine in the “ chalice*.” And after it followeth: “ How shall we drink “ with Christ *new wine of the creature of the vine*, if in the “ sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ we do not offer “ *wine*?”

In these words of St. Cyprian appeareth most manifestly, that in this sacrament is not only offered very wine that is made of grapes that come of the vine, but also that we drink the same. And yet the same giveth us to understand, that if we drink that wine worthily, we drink also

^s Origenes, *In Matt.* cap. 15.

Idem, *Contra Celsum*, lib. iv: “ Ubi pro collatis in nos beneficiis gratias diximus, oblati panibus vescimur.” ΕΜΒΡ.

^h Cyprian. *Ad Cæcilium*, lib. ii. epistola 3.

spiritually the very blood of Christ which was shed for our sins¹. CHAP.
V.

^kEusebius Emissenus, a man of singular fame in learning, Eusebius
Emissenus. about three hundred years after Christ's ascension, did in few words set out this matter so plainly, both how the bread and wine be converted into the body and blood of Christ and yet remain still in their nature; and also how besides the outward receiving of bread and wine Christ is inwardly by faith received in our hearts, all this, I say, he doth so plainly set out, that more plainness cannot be reasonably desired in this matter. For he saith, that the conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in baptism, where outwardly nothing is changed but remaineth the same that was before, but all the alteration is inwardly and spiritually.

"If thou wilt know," saith he¹, "how it ought not to seem to thee a new thing and impossible, that *earthly and corruptible things be turned into the substance of Christ, look upon thyself, which art made new in baptism*, when thou wast far from life, and banished as a stranger from mercy and from the way of salvation, and inwardly wast dead, yet suddenly thou beganst another life in Christ, *and wast made new* by wholesome mysteries, *and wast turned into the body of the Church*, not by seeing, but by believing; and of the child of damnation, by a secret pureness, thou wast made the chosen son of God. *Thou visibly didst remain in the same measure that thou hadst before, but invisibly thou wast made greater, without any increase of thy body. Thou wast the selfsame*

¹ Idem, in *Sermone de Lapsis*: "Sanctificatus in Domini sanguinem potus de pollutis visceribus erupit." Et, *De Cæna Domini*: "Sceleratum os panis sanctificatus intravit." Et, in eodem: "Ante verba consecrationis panis ille communis," &c. vid. infra cap. xi. EMBD. [The treatise, *De Cæna Domini*, is now considered spurious, and is attributed by the Benedictine editor to Arnoldus, Abbas Bonæ-Vallis. See Bened. edit. and Cave, *Hist. Liter.*]

^k [The writings attributed to Eusebius Emissenus are generally held to be spurious. Cave, *Hist. Literaria*. The passage here cited is assigned to him on the authority of the Canon Law, from whence it is extracted.]

¹ *De Consecr. Dist. 2.* "Quia."

BOOK
II.

“ *person*, and yet by the increase of faith thou wast made
 “ another man. *Outwardly nothing was added, but all the*
 “ *change was inwardly.* And so was man made the son of
 “ Christ, and Christ formed in the mind of man. There-
 “ fore as thou putting away thy former vileness didst re-
 “ ceive a new dignity, not feeling any change in thy body ;
 “ and as the curing of thy disease, the putting away of thine
 “ infection, the wiping away of thy filthiness, be not seen
 “ with thine eyes, but are believed in thy mind : so likewise,
 “ when thou dost go up to the reverend altar to feed upon
 “ spiritual meat, in thy faith look upon the body and blood
 “ of him that is thy God, honour him, touch him with thy
 “ mind, take him in the hand of thy heart, and chiefly drink
 “ him with the draught of thy inward man.”

Hitherto have I rehearsed the sayings of Eusebius, which
 be so plain, that no man can wish more plainly to be de-
 clared, that this mutation of the bread and wine into the
 body and blood of Christ, is a spiritual mutation, and that
 outwardly nothing is changed. But as outwardly we eat
 the bread and drink the wine with our mouths, so inwardly
 by faith we spiritually eat the very flesh and drink the very
 blood of Christ.

Hilarius.

Hilarius also in few words saith the same. “ There is
 “ a figure,” saith he, “ for *bread and wine be outwardly*
 “ *seen.* And there is also a truth of that figure ; for the
 “ body and blood of Christ be of a truth inwardly believed ^m.”
 And this Hilarius was within less than three hundred and
 fifty years after Christ.

And Epiphanius, shortly after the same time, saith ⁿ, that
the bread is meat, but the virtue that is in it, is it that
 giveth life. But if there were no bread at all, how could it
 be meat ?

About the same time, or shortly after, about the year of
 our Lord 400, St. John Chrysostome writeth thus against
 them that used only water in the sacrament^o: “ Christ,”

^m Hilarius, *Dist. 2.* “ Corpus.” EMBD.

ⁿ Epiphanius, *Contra Hereses*, lib. iii. tom. 2. Et in *Anacephaleosi*.

^o Chrysost. In *Mat.* cap. xxvi. hom. 83.

saith he, "minding to pluck up that heresy by the roots, *used wine*, as well before his resurrection when he gave the mysteries, as after at his table without mysteries. For he saith, 'of the fruit of the vine;' which surely bring-eth forth no water, but wine."

These words of Chrysostome declare plainly, that Christ in his holy table both drank wine and gave wine to drink, which had not been true, if no wine had remained after the consecration, as the papists feign.

And yet more plainly St. Chrysostome^p declareth this matter in another place, saying: "The bread, before it be sanctified, is called bread; but when it is sanctified by the means of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is exalted to the name of the Lord's body, although *the nature of bread doth still remain.*"

^p *Ad Casarium Monachum.* [A few passages only of this Epistle are preserved in Greek, by Jo. Damascene, Anastasius, and Nicephorus. A Latin version is the sole authority for the remainder. Its genuineness was disputed by Gardyner, and has been the subject of much controversy since. Its history is curious. Attention was first directed to it by Peter Martyr, who brought a copy to England, which he presented to Cranmer. When the Archbishop's library was dispersed at his death, this copy disappeared, and as Peter Martyr had not stated from whence it was procured, Cardinal Perron ventured to charge him with having forged it. But in 1680, the accusation was proved to be false by the discovery of the original manuscript in the library of the Dominican monastery of St. Mark at Florence. It was immediately printed, together with the extracts extant in Greek and a preface, by the discoverer, Emeric Bigot; but some doctors of the Sorbonne interfered, and prevented its publication. The Latin version however was given to the world in 1685, by Stephen Le Moyne, in his *Varia Sacra*; and in the following year, Wake, into whose hands the very leaves cut out at Paris had fallen, reprinted the whole in one of his tracts against Bossuet. The evidence in its favour derived from the citations in Damascene, &c. is very conclusive, and has induced even the Roman Catholic writers, Bigot, Hardouin, and Dupin, to place it among the genuine works of Chrysostom. But the Benedictine editor Montfaucon condemns it as spurious, though he takes pains to explain away the expressions which it contains against transubstantiation. Walchius, on the other side, says, "Contra pontificios satis probatum est, Epistolæ hujus auctorem omnino *esse Chrysostomum.*" See Gardyner, *Explication*, book v. cap. 5. *Confutatio Cavillationum*, &c. Object. 201. Cranmer, *Disputation with Harpsfield at Oxford*. Wake, *Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 362. Chrysostom. *Opera*, ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 736. Dupin, *Eccles. Writers*, Cent. v. Walchius, *Biblioth. Patrist.* p. 224. where is a list of other authors who have written on the subject.]

BOOK
II.

"The nature of bread," saith he, "doth still remain," to the utter and manifest confutation of the papists, which say, that the accidents of bread do remain, but not the nature and substance.

Ambrosius. At the same time was St. Ambrose, who declareth the alteration of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ not to be such, that the nature and substance of bread and wine be gone, but that through grace there is a spiritual mutation by the mighty power of God, so that he that worthily eateth of that bread doth spiritually eat Christ, and dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him.

"For," saith St. Ambrose⁹, speaking of this change of bread into the body of Christ, "if the word of God be of that force that it can make things of nought, and those things to be which never were before, much more it can

⁹ *De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur*, cap. ult. Et, *De Sacramentis*, lib. iv. cap. 4. [The genuineness of both of these works was questioned in 1535, by Bullinger, who maintained in a letter to Vadianus, "stupidos hos nequaquam esse auctoris optimi et iudicii emunctissimi foetum," and asserted that Erasmus also was of the same opinion. Both too, as Cranmer states in his *Answer*, were suspected by Melancthon; and one of them, the treatise on the sacraments, was repeatedly denied to be of any authority by Peter Martyr and Ridley.

The spuriousness indeed of the six books *De Sacramentis*, seems to admit of little doubt. The Benedictine editors, though they print them among the genuine works of Ambrose, do not venture, after giving the arguments on both sides, to decide in their favour: and the following statement by Cave can scarcely be shaken. "De Sacramentis libri vi. non tantum a theologis reformatæ sed et pontificiæ religionis quam plurimis Ambrosio abjudicantur; scripsisse quidem Ambrosium libros De Sacramentis certissimum est, qui vero hodie extant, aut ejus non sunt, aut adeo insigniter interpolati ut non plane faciem induerint. Desiderantur in his quæ ex illis citant Augustinus et Bertramus; aliam exhibent S. Scripturæ versionem, quam qua in genuinis operibus usus est Ambrosius; repugnat styli diversitas patre mellifluo indigna; repugnant haud pauca a sæculo Ambrosiano aliena. Vidit hæc omnia ac ingenue agnovit eminentiss. Card. Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. i. cap. 7. § 4. ubi hoc opusculum non nisi ab octavi et noni sæculi scriptoribus tanquam legitimum Ambrosii foetum laudari fatetur."

The case is not so strong against the other work, *De Mysteriis*, and the Benedictine editors stiffly maintain its genuineness: yet even of this Walchius writes: "Ingenii monumentum esse adulterinum satis constat." See *Answer*, b. iii. ch. 15. Peter Martyr, *Tractat. de Eucharist.* Tiguri, 1557. p. 163. *Disputations at Cambridge*, in *Fare*, edit. 1641. vol. ii. p. 764. Ambros. *Opera*, ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 321. Cave, *Historia Literaria*. Walchius, *Biblioth. Patrist.* p. 479.]

“make things that were before, still to be, and also to be
“changed into other things.”

CHAP.
V.

And he bringeth for example hereof, the change of us in baptism, wherein a man is so changed, (as is before declared in the words of Eusebius,) that he is made a new creature, and yet his substance remaineth the same that was before.

And St. Augustine^r, about the same time wrote thus: *Augustinus.*

“That which you see in the altar, *is the bread and the cup, which also your eyes do show you.* But faith showeth further, that bread is the body of Christ, and the cup his blood^s.” Here he declareth four things to be in the sacrament: two that we see, which be bread and wine; and other two, which we see not, but by faith only, which be the body and blood of Christ.

And the same thing he declareth also as plainly in another

^r *Augustinus in Sermone ad Infantes.*

^s Et mox: “Panis non fit ex uno grano, sed ex multis.” [ed. Bened. *Serm.* 271. tom. v. p. 1104.] Et mox: “Illas nubes et ignes quæ fecerint vel assumpserint Angeli, ad significandum quod annuntiabant, quis novit hominum, sicut infantes non norunt,” &c. [*De Trin.* lib. iii. cap. 10. ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 804.] Et mox: “Infantes non norunt quod in altari ponitur et peracta pietatis celebratione consumitur, unde vel quomodo conficiatur, unde in usum religionis assumatur. Et si nunquam discant experimento vel suo, vel aliorum, et nunquam istam speciem rerum videant, nisi inter celebrationes sacramentorum, cum offertur et datur, dicaturque illis auctoritate gravissima cujus corpus et sanguis sit, nihil aliud credent, nisi omnino in illa specie Dominum oculis apparuisse mortaliū, et de latere tali percusso liquorem illum omnino fluxisse.” [*De Trin.* lib. iii. cap. 10. ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 804.] Et ante cap. 4. “Panis et vinum non sanctificantur, ut sint tam magnum sacramentum, nisi per invisibilem operationem Spiritus Sancti.” [ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 798.]

Idem Aug. *De Trin.* lib. iii. cap. 10, loquens de novem modis quibus Deus aliquid nobis annuntiat, nonum modum dicit esse in re, quæ sit quidem eadem specie, sed peracto mysterio transitura: “Aliquando (inquit) ad hoc fit eadem species, vel aliquantulum mansura, sicut potuit serpens ille æneus exaltatus in Eremita, sicut possunt literæ, vel peracto ministerio transitura, sicut panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo sacramento consumitur. Sed quia hæc hominibus nota sunt, quia per homines fiunt, honorem tanquam religiosa possunt habere, stuporem tanquam mira non possunt.” [ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 803.]

Idem, *In Joan. Homil.* 26. “Dominus noster Jesus Christus corpus et sanguinem suum in iis rebus commendavit, quæ ad unum aliquid ex multis rediguntur. Aliud enim ex multis granis conficitur, aliud ex multis racemis confluit.” Et mox: “Securus accede, panis est, non venenum.” *EMBD.*

BOOK
II.

place^t, saying, "The sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things, of *the visible* kind of the *element*, and of the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ; both of the sacrament, and of the thing signified by the sacrament: even as *the person of Christ consisteth of God and man*, forasmuch as he is very God and very man. For *every thing containeth in it the very nature of those things whereof it consisteth*. Now the sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things, of the sacrament, and of the thing thereby signified, that is to say, the body of Christ. Therefore there is both the sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament, which is Christ's body^u."

What can be devised to be spoken more plainly against the error of the papists, which say that no bread nor wine remaineth in the sacrament? For as the person of Christ consisteth of two natures, that is to say, of his manhood and of his Godhead, and therefore both those natures remain in Christ; even so, saith St. Augustine, the sacrament consisteth of two natures, of the elements of bread and wine, and of the body and blood of Christ, and therefore both these natures must needs remain in the sacrament.

For the more plain understanding hereof, it is to be noted, that there were certain heretics, as Simon, Menander, Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, Cerdon, Manes, Eutyches Manichæus, Apollinaris, and divers other of like sorts, which said, that Christ was very God, but not a very man, although in eating, drinking, sleeping, and all other operations of man, to men's judgments he appeared like unto a man.

^t In *Lib. Sententiarum Prosperi*. [This passage is not to be found in the *Lib. Sententiarum Prosperi ex Augustino*, as it is printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine edition of Augustin. Cranmer took it from the *Corpus Juris Canonici, De Consecrat. Dist. 2. "Hoc est,"* where *Lib. Sentent. Prosperi*. is the authority referred to. See his *Answer to Gardiner*, book ii. ch. 5. where he cites another sentence from the same place.]

^u Hesychius, In *Levit.* lib. ii. cap. 8. "Simul panis et caro est." Gregorius, in *Registro*. "Tam azymum quam fermentatum dum sumimus, unum corpus Domini salvatoris efficimur." Rabanus dicit, "Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigi." EMBD.

Other there were, as Artemon, Theodorus, Sabellius, Paulus Samasathenus, Marcellus, Photinus, Nestorius, and many other of the same sects, which said, that he was a very natural man, but not very God, although in giving the blind their sight, the dumb their speech, the deaf their hearing, in healing suddenly with his word all diseases, in raising to life them that were dead, and in all other works of God, he showed himself as he had been God.

Yet other there were, which seeing the Scripture so plain in those two matters, confessed that he was both God and man, but not both at one time. For before his incarnation, said they, he was God only, and not man; and after his incarnation he ceased from his Godhead, and became a man only, and not God, until his resurrection or ascension, and then, say they, he left his manhood, and was only God again, as he was before his incarnation. So that when he was man, he was not God, and when he was God, he was not man.

But against these vain heresies the catholic faith, by the express word of God, holdeth and believeth, that Christ after his incarnation left not his divine nature, but remained still God, as he was before, being together at one time, as he is still, both perfect God, and perfect man.

And for a plain declaration hereof, the old ancient authors give two examples; one is of man, which is made of two parts, of a soul and of a body, and each of these two parts remain in man at one time; so that when the soul by the almighty power of God is put into the body, neither the body nor soul perisheth thereby, but thereof is made a perfect man, having a perfect soul and a perfect body remaining in him both at one time. The other example which the old authors bring in for this purpose, is of the holy Supper of our Lord, which consisteth, say they, of two parts; of the sacrament or visible element of bread and wine, and of the body and blood of Christ. And as in them that duly receive the sacrament the very natures of bread and wine cease not to be there, but remain there still, and be eaten corporally, as the body and blood of Christ be

BOOK II. eaten spiritually; so likewise doth the divine nature of Christ remain still with his humanity.

Let now the papists avaunt themselves of their transubstantiation, that there remaineth no bread nor wine in the ministration of the sacrament, if they will defend the wicked heresies before rehearsed, that Christ is not God and man both together. But to prove that this was the mind of the old authors, beside the saying of St. Augustine here recited, I shall also rehearse divers other.

St. John Chrysostome writeth against the pestilent error of Apollinaris, which affirmed that the Godhead and manhood in Christ were so mixed and confounded together, that they both made but one nature. Against whom St. John Chrysostome writeth thus*: “ When thou speakest of God, “ thou must consider a thing that in nature is single, without composition, without conversion; that is invisable, immortal, incircumscribable, incomprehensible, with such like. And when thou speakest of man, thou meanest a nature that is weak, subject to hunger, thirst, weeping, fear, sweating, and such like passions, which cannot be in the divine nature. And when thou speakest of Christ, thou joinest two natures together in one person, who is both passible and impassible; passible, as concerning his flesh, and impassible in his Deity.”

And after he concludeth, saying, “ Wherefore Christ is both God and man: God by his impassible nature, and man because he suffered. He himself being one person, one son, one Lord, hath the dominion and power of two natures joined together, which be not of one substance, but each of them hath his properties distinct from the other. And therefore remaineth there two natures, distinct, and not confounded. For as before the consecration of the bread, we call it bread, but *when God's grace hath sanctified it by the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is exalted to the name of the body of the Lord, although the nature of the bread remain still in it*, and it is not called two bodies, but one body of God's

* *Ad Cæsarium Monachum.*

“son; so likewise here the divine nature resteth in the
 “body of Christ, and these two make one son and one CHAP.
V.
 “person.”

These words of St. Chrysostome declare, and that not in obscure terms but in plain words, that after the consecration the nature of bread remaineth still, although it have an higher name, and be called the body of Christ, to signify unto the godly eaters of that bread, that they spiritually eat the supernatural bread of the body of Christ, who spiritually is there present, and dwelleth in them and they in him, although corporally he sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father.

Hereunto accordeth also Gelasius^y, writing against Eutyches and Nestorius, of whom the one said, that Christ was a perfect man, but not God; and the other affirmed clean contrary, that he was very God, but not man. But against these two heinous heresies Gelasius proveth by most manifest scriptures, that Christ is both God and man; and that after his incarnation remained in him as well the nature of his Godhead, as the nature of his manhood; so that he hath in him two natures with their natural properties, and yet is he but one Christ^z.

And for the more evident declaration hereof, he bringeth two examples; the one is of man, who being but one, yet

^y Gelasius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*.

^z Dicens, “Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficitur consortes naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumimus: ut sicut in hanc scilicet divinam transeant (Spiritu Sancto perficiente) substantiam, permanent tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ: sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, (cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter representant,) his ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum (quia integrum verumque) permanere demonstrant.” EMBD. [The writers of the Church of Rome have laboured hard to prove that the author of this work was not Gelasius the Pope, but either Gelasius of Cyzicus or Gelasius of Cæsarea. But, as Cave says, “frustra omnes: magna enim est veritas et prævaluit. Tandem vi veritatis adactus, manus dedit ipse Labbæus. Dissert. de Script. Eccl. tom. i. p. 342.” Cave, *Hist. Liter.*]

BOOK
II.

he is made of two parts, and hath in him two natures, remaining both together in him, that is to say, the body and the soul with their natural properties.

The other example is of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; which, saith he, "is a godly thing, and *"yet the substance or nature of bread and wine do not cease to be there still."*

Note well these words against all the papists of our time, that Gelasius, which was Bishop of Rome^a more than a thousand years past, writeth of this sacrament, that the bread and wine cease not to be there still; as Christ ceased not to be God after his incarnation, but remained still perfect God as he was before^b.

Theodoretus^c also affirmeth the same, both in his first and in his second Dialogue. In the first he saith thus: "He that called his natural body wheat and bread, and also called himself a vine, the selfsame *called bread and wine his body and blood, and yet changed not their natures."*

And in his second Dialogue he saith more plainly: "For," saith he, "*as the bread and wine after the consecration lose not their proper nature, but keep their former substance, form, and figure,* which they had before; even so the body of Christ after his ascension was changed into the godly substance."

Now let the papists choose which of these two they will grant, for one of them they must needs grant, either that the nature and substance of bread and wine remain still in the sacrament after the consecration, (and then must they recant their doctrine of transubstantiation,) or else that they be of the error of Nestorius and other, which did say that the nature of the Godhead remained not in Christ after his incarnation. For all these old authors agree that it is in the one, as it is in the other.

^a [A. D. 492.]

^b Et Leo, ut habetur, *De Consecrat.* dist. 2. "Incarnationis quoque exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem." Idem habet Ambrosius, *De iis qui initiuntur Mysteriis*, cap. ult. EMBD.

^c Theodoretus in *Dialogis*.

Now forasmuch as it is proved sufficiently, as well by the holy Scripture, as by natural operation, by natural reason, by all our senses, and by the most old and best learned authors and holy martyrs of Christ's church, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of faithful people in the blessed sacrament, or Supper of the Lord; it is a thing worthy to be considered and well weighed, what moved the school authors of late years to defend the contrary opinion, not only so far from all experience of our senses, and so far from all reason, but also clean contrary to the old Church of Christ and to God's most holy word. Surely nothing moved them thereto so much, as did the vain faith which they had in the Church and see of Rome.

CHAP.
VI.

Transub-
stantiation
came from
Rome.

For Johannes Scotus^d, otherwise called Duns, the subtlest of all the school authors, in treating of this matter of transubstantiation, sheweth plainly the cause thereof: "For," saith he, "*the words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation*; but the Church did choose this sense, which is more hard, being moved thereto, as it seemeth, chiefly *because that of the sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth*. But it holdeth that bread is transubstantiate or turned into the body, and wine into the blood, as it is showed *De summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*. 'Firmiter credimus.'"

And Gabriel also, who of all other wrote most largely upon the canon of the Mass, saith thus: "It is to be noted, that although it be taught in the Scripture, that the body of Christ is truly contained and received of Christian people under the kinds of bread and wine; yet how the body of Christ is there, whether by conversion of any thing into it, or without conversion the body is there with the bread, both the substance and accidents of bread remaining there still, *it is not found expressed in the Bible*. Yet forasmuch as of the sacraments men

^d Scotus, *Super 4. Sent.* distinct. 11.

^e Gabriel, *Super Canonem Missæ*, lect. 40. [1580.]

BOOK
II.

" must hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth, as it is written, De Hæreticis, ' Ad abolendam ;' and that Church holdeth and hath determined, that the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood ; therefore is this opinion received of all them that be catholic, that the substance of bread remaineth not, but really and truly is turned, transubstantiated, and changed into the substance of the body of Christ."

CHAP.
VII.

Thus you have heard the cause, wherefore this opinion of transubstantiation at this present is holden and defended among Christian people ; that is to say, because the Church of Rome hath so determined ; although the contrary, by the papists' own confession, appear to be more easy, more true, and more according to the Scripture^f.

But because our English papists (who speak more grossly herein than the Pope himself, affirming that the natural body of Christ is naturally in the bread and wine) cannot nor dare not ground their faith concerning transubstantiation upon the Church of Rome ; which although in name it be called most holy, yet indeed it is the most stinking dunghill of all wickedness that is under heaven, and the very synagogue of the Devil, which whosoever followeth cannot but stumble, and fall into a pit full of errors ; because, I say, the English papists dare not now stablish their faith upon that foundation of Rome, therefore they seek fig-leaves, that is to say, vain reasons gathered of their own brains, and authorities wrested from the intent and mind of the authors, wherewith to cover and hide their shameful errors. Wherefore I thought it good somewhat to travail herein, to take away those fig-leaves, that their shameful errors may plainly to every man appear.

CHAP.
VIII.

The first
reason of
the papists

The greatest reason and of most importance, and of such strength, as they think or at the least as they pretend, that all the world cannot answer thereto, is this: *Our Saviour*

^f " Quoniam autem Ecclesia Romana transubstantionem esse declaravit, ideo eligitur hic intellectus (ut inquit Scotus) ita difficilis, cum verba Scripturæ possent salvari secundum intellectum facilem et veriorum secundum apparentiam." EMED. [See *Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey*.

Christ taking the bread, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is my body. Now, say they, as soon as Christ had spoken these words, the bread was straightway altered and changed, and the substance thereof was converted into the substance of his precious body.

CHAP.
VIII.

to prove
their tran-
substantia-
tion.

Matt. xxvi.

Mark xiv.

Luke xxii.

The an-
swer.

But what Christian ears can patiently hear this doctrine, that Christ is every day made anew, and made of another substance than he was made of in his mother's womb? For whereas, at his incarnation, he was made of the nature and substance of his blessed mother; now, by these papists' opinion, he is made every day of the nature and substance of bread and wine, which, as they say, be turned into the substance of his body and blood. O what a marvellous metamorphosis and abominable heresy is this, to say that Christ is daily made anew, and of a new matter! whereof it followeth necessarily, that they make us every day a new Christ, and not the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, nor that was crucified upon the cross, as it shall be plainly proved by these arguments following.

First, thus: If Christ's body that was crucified was not made of bread, but the body that was eaten in the supper was made of bread, as the papists say, then Christ's body that was eaten was not the same that was crucified.

And again: If Christ's body that was crucified was not made of bread, and Christ's body that was crucified was the same that was eaten at his last supper, then Christ's body that was eaten was not made of bread.

And moreover: If Christ's body that was eaten at the last supper was the same that was crucified, and Christ's body that was eaten at the supper was made of bread, as the Papists feign, then Christ's body that was crucified was made of bread.

And in like manner it followeth: If the body of Christ in the sacrament be made of the substance of bread and wine, and the same body was conceived in the Virgin's womb, then the body of Christ in the Virgin's womb was made of bread and wine.

‡ Roffens. *Contra Œcolampadium*, lib. ii. cap. 20. [1580.]

BOOK
II.

Or else turn the argument thus : The body of Christ in the Virgin's womb was not made of bread and wine; but this body of Christ in the sacrament is made of bread and wine; then this body of Christ is not the same that was conceived in the Virgin's womb.

Another argument : Christ that was born in the Virgin's womb, as concerning his body, was made of none other substance but of the substance of his blessed mother; but Christ in the sacrament is made of another substance : then he is another Christ.

And so the Antichrist of Rome, the chief author of all idolatry, would bring faithful Christian people from the true worshipping of Christ, that was made and born of the blessed Virgin Mary through the operation of the Holy Ghost, and suffered for us upon the cross, to worship another Christ made of bread and wine through the consecration of a popish priest.

And thus the popish priests make themselves the makers of God. For, say they, the priest by the words of consecration maketh that thing which is eaten and drunken in the Lord's Supper; and that, say they, is Christ himself, both God and man; and so they take upon them to make both God and man.

But let all true worshippers worship one God, one Christ, once corporally made, of one only corporal substance, that is to say, of the blessed Virgin Mary; that once died, and rose once again, once ascended into heaven, and there sitteth and shall sit at the right hand of his Father evermore, although spiritually he be every day amongst us, and whosoever come together in his name, he is in the midst among them. And he is the spiritual pasture and food of our souls, as meat and drink is of our bodies; which he signifieth unto us by the institution of his most holy supper in bread and wine, declaring that as the bread and wine corporally comfort and feed our bodies, so doth he with his flesh and blood spiritually comfort and feed our souls.

The answer more directly.

And now may be easily answered the papists' argument, whereof they do so much boast. For brag they never so

much of their conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet that conversion is spiritual, and putteth not away the corporal presence of the material bread and wine. But forasmuch as the same is a most holy sacrament of our spiritual nourishment, which we have by the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, there must needs remain the sensible element, that is to say, bread and wine, without the which there can be no sacrament.

CHAP.
VIII.

As in our spiritual regeneration there can be no sacrament of baptism, if there be no water. For as baptism is no perfect sacrament of spiritual regeneration, without there be as well the element of water, as the Holy Ghost spiritually regenerating the person that is baptized, (which is signified by the said water,) even so the Supper of our Lord can be no perfect sacrament of spiritual food, except there be as well bread and wine, as the body and blood of our Saviour Christ spiritually feeding us, which by the said bread and wine is signified.

And howsoever the body and blood of our Saviour Christ be there present, they may as well be present there with the substance of bread and wine, as with the accidents of the same; as the school authors do confess themselves, and it shall be well proved if the adversaries will deny it. Thus you see the strongest argument of the papists answered unto, and the chief foundation whereupon they build their error of transubstantiation, utterly subverted and overthrown.

Another reason have they of like strength. If the bread should remain, say they, then should follow many absurdities, and chiefly, that Christ hath taken the nature of bread, as he took the nature of man, and so joined it to his substance. And then as we have God verily incarnate for our redemption, so should we have him impanate.

CHAP.
IX.

The second
argument
for transub-
stantiation.

Thou mayest consider, good reader, that the rest of their reasons be very weak and feeble, when these be the chief and strongest. Truth it is indeed, that Christ should have been impanate, if he had joined the bread unto his substance in unity of person, that is to say, if he had joined the bread

The an-
swer.

BOOK
II.Matt. iii.
Mark i.
Luke iii.

unto him in such sort, that he had made the bread one person with himself. But forasmuch as he is joined to the bread but sacramentally, there followeth no impanation thereof, no more than the Holy Ghost is in aquate, that is to say, made water, being sacramentally joined to the water in baptism. Nor he was not made a dove, when he took upon him the form of a dove, to signify that he whom St. John did baptize was very Christ.

But rather of the error of the papists themselves, (as one error draweth another after it,) should follow the great absurdity which they speak upon, that is to say, that Christ should be impanate and invinate. For if Christ do use the bread in such wise, that he doth not annihilate and make nothing of it, as the papists say, but maketh of it his own body, then is the bread joined to his body in a greater unity, than is his humanity to his Godhead. For his Godhead is adjoined unto his humanity in unity of person, and not of nature: but our Saviour Christ, by their saying, adjoineth bread unto his body in unity both of nature and person. So that the bread and the body of Christ be but one thing, both in nature and person. And so is there a more entire union between Christ and bread, than between his Godhead and manhood, or between his soul and his body. And thus these arguments of the papists return, like rivetted nails, upon their own heads.

CHAP.
X.The third
reason.
John vi.

Yet a third reason they have, which they gather out of the sixth of John, where Christ saith: *I am lively bread, which came from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.*

Then reason they after this fashion. If the bread which Christ gave be his flesh, then it cannot also be material bread; and so it must needs follow, that the material bread is gone, and that none other substance remaineth but the flesh of Christ only.

The an-
swer.

To this is soon made answer, that Christ in that place of John spake not of the material and sacramental bread, nor of the sacramental eating, (for that was spoken two or three

years before the sacrament was first ordained,) but he spake of spiritual bread, many times repeating, *I am the bread of life which came from heaven*, and of spiritual eating by faith, after which sort he was at the same present time eaten of as many as believed on him, although the sacrament was not at that time made and instituted. And therefore he said: *Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and died; but he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.* Therefore this place of St. John can in no wise be understand of the sacramental bread, which neither came from heaven, neither giveth life to all that eat it. Nor of such bread Christ could have then presently said, *This is my flesh*, except they will say that Christ did then consecrate, so many years before the institution of his holy Supper.

Now that I have made a full, direct, and plain answer to the vain reasons and cavillations of the papists, order requireth to make likewise answer unto their sophistical allegations and wresting of authors unto their phantastical purposes. There be chiefly three places, which at the first show seem much to make for their intent, but when they shall be thoroughly weighed, they make nothing for them at all.

The first is a place of Cyprian^h, in his Sermon of the Lord's Supper, where he saith, as is alleged in the Detection of the Devil's Sophistryⁱ, "This bread, which our Lord gave to his disciples, *changed in nature, but not in outward form*, is, by the omnipotency of God's word, made flesh."

Here the papists stick tooth and nail to these words, "*changed in nature.*" Ergo, say they, the nature of the bread is changed. Here is one chief point of the Devil's sophistry used, who in allegation of Scripture useth ever either to add thereto, or to take away from it, or to alter the sense thereof. And so have they in this author left

CHAP.
X.

John vi.

CHAP.
XI.

Authors
wrested by
the papists
for their
transub-
stantiation.

The an-
swer.

^h Cyprianus, *De Cæna Domini*. [This Sermon, as has been already stated, p. 323. is now held to be spurious.]

ⁱ [Cranmer here refers to a work published by Gardyner in 1546, entitled, *A Detection of the Devil's Sophistrie, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned people of the true byleef in the most blessed Sacrament of the aulter.*]

BOOK
II.

out those words which would open plainly all the whole matter. For next the words which be here before of them recited, do follow these words: "As in the person of Christ
"the humanity was seen and the divinity was hid, even so
"did the divinity ineffably put itself into the visible sacra-
"ment^k." Which words of Cyprian do manifestly show, that the sacrament doth still remain with the divinity; and that sacramentally the divinity is poured into the bread and wine, the same bread and wine still remaining: like as the same divinity by unity of person was in the humanity of Christ, the same humanity still remaining with the divinity.

And yet the bread is changed, not in shape, nor substance, but in nature, as Cyprian truly saith, not meaning that the natural substance of bread is clean gone, but that by God's word there is added thereto another higher property, nature, and condition, far passing the nature and condition of common bread, that is to say, that the bread doth show unto us, as the same Cyprian saith, that we be partakers of the Spirit of God, and most purely joined unto Christ, and spiritually fed with his flesh and blood; so that now the said mystical bread is both a corporal food for the body, and a spiritual food for the soul.

And likewise is the nature of the water changed in baptism; forasmuch as beside his common nature, (which is to wash and make clean the body,) it declareth unto us, that our souls be also washed and made clean by the Holy Ghost^l.

^k "Ut esset religioni circa sacramenta devotio, et ad veritatem cujus corpus sacramenta sunt sincerior pateret accessus, usque ad participationem spiritus; non quod usque ad consubstantialitatem Christi, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam ejus hæc unitas perveniret." Et ibidem: "Ex consueto rerum effectu fidei nostræ adjuta infirmitas, sensibili argumento edocta est, visibilibus sacramentis inesse vitæ æternæ effectum; et non tam corporali quam spirituali transitione, Christo nos uniri." Et mox: "Nostra vero et ipsius conjunctio, nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias, sed affectus consociat et confederat voluntates." EMBD.

^l Augustinus, *In Joan.* xv. tract. 80. "*Jam vos mundi estis, propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis.* Quare non ait, 'Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis,' sed ait, 'propter verbum quod loquutus sum vobis?' Nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat. Detrahe verbum: quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramen-

And thus is answered the chief authority of the doctors, which the papists take for the principal defence of their error. But for further declaration of St. Cyprian's mind herein, read the place of him before recited, p. 322. CHAP.
XI.

Another authority they have of St. John Chrysostome, which they boast also to be invincible. Chrysostome, say they, writeth thus, in a certain Homily *De Eucharistia* ^{m.} CHAP.
XII.
*“Dost thou see bread? Dost thou see wine? Do they avoid
 “beneath, as other meats do? God forbid; think not so.
 “For as wax, if it be put into the fire, it is made like the
 “fire, no substance remaineth, nothing is left: so here also
 “think thou, that the mysteries be consumed by the sub-
 “stance of the body.”* Chrysosto-
mus.

At these words of Chrysostome the papists do triumph, as though they had won the field. Lo, say they, doth not Chrysostomus, the great clerk, say most plainly, that we see neither bread nor wine? but that, as wax in the fire, they be consumed to nothing, so that no substance remaineth? But if they had rehearsed no more but the very next sentence that followeth in Chrysostome, (which craftily and maliciously they leave out,) the meaning of St. John Chrysostome would easily have appeared, and yet will make them blush, if they be not utterly past shame. For after the foresaid words of Chrysostome immediately follow these words: “Wherefore,” saith he, “when ye come to these mysteries, do not think that you receive by a man the body of God, but that with tongues you receive fire by the angels Seraphin.” And straight after it followeth thus: “Think that the blood of salvation floweth out of the pure and godly side of Christ, and so coming to it receive it with pure lips. Wherefore, brethren, I pray you and beseech you, let us not be from the church, nor let us not be occupied there with vain communication, but let us
<sup>The an-
swer.</sup>
 “tum: etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum.” Et mox: “Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat, et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur. Nam et in ipso verbo, aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus remanens: Hoc est verbum fidei quod prædicamus.” EMBD.

^m [Entitled in the Benedictine edition, *De Penitentia*, Hom. ix. See *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

BOOK
II.

“stand fearful and trembling, casting down our eyes, lifting
“up our minds, mourning privily without speech, and re-
“joicing in our hearts.”

These words of Chrysostome do follow immediately after the other words, which the papists before rehearsed. Therefore if the papists will gather of the words by them recited, that there is neither bread nor wine in the sacrament, I may as well gather of the words that follow, that there is neither priest nor Christ's body.

For as in the former sentence Chrysostome saith, that we may not think that we see bread and wine; so in the second sentence he saith, that we may not think that we receive the body of Christ of the priest's hands. Wherefore if upon the second sentence, as the papists themselves will say, it cannot be truly gathered, that in the holy communion there is not the body of Christ ministered by the priest; then must they confess also, that it cannot be well and truly gathered upon the first sentence, that there is no bread nor wine.

But there be all these things together in the holy communion: Christ himself spiritually eaten and drunken, and nourishing the right believers; the bread and wine as a sacrament declaring the same; and the priest as a minister thereof. Wherefore St. John Chrysostome meant not absolutely to deny that there is bread and wine, or to deny utterly the priest and the body of Christ to be there; but he useth a speech which is no pure negative, but a negative by comparison.

Negatives
by compa-
rison.

Which fashion of speech is commonly used, not only in the Scripture, and among all good authors, but also in all manner of languages. For when two things be compared together, in the extolling of the more excellent or abasing of the more vile is many times used a negative by comparison, which nevertheless is no pure negative, but only in the respect of the more excellent or the more base.

As by example: when the people, rejecting the Prophet Samuel, desired to have a king, Almighty God said to Samuel, *They have not rejected thee, but me.* Not meaning

1 Sam. viii.

by this negative absolutely that they had not rejected Samuel, (in whose place they desired to have a king,) but by that one negative by comparison he understood two affirmatives, that is to say, that they had rejected Samuel, and not him alone, but also that they had chiefly rejected God.

And when the prophet David said in the person of Christ, *I am a worm, and not a man*; by this negative he denied not utterly that Christ was a man, but the more vehemently to express the great humiliation of Christ, he said that he was not abased only to the nature of man, but was brought so low, that he might rather be called a worm than a man.

This manner of speech was familiar and usual to St. Paul, as when he said, *It is not I that do it, but it is the sin that dwelleth in me.* And in another place he saith, *Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.* And again he saith, *My speech and preaching was not in words of man's persuasion, but in manifest declaration of the Spirit and power.* And he saith also, *Neither he that grafteth, nor he that watereth, is any thing; but God that giveth the increase.* And he saith moreover, *It is not I that live, but Christ liveth within me.* And, *God forbid that I should rejoice in any thing, but in the cross of our Lord Jesu Christ.* And further, *We do not wrestle against flesh and blood, but against the spirits of darkness.*

In all these sentences and many other like, although they be negatives, nevertheless St. Paul meant not clearly to deny that he did that evil whereof he spake, or utterly to say that he was not sent to baptize, (who indeed did baptize at certain times, and was sent to do all things that pertained to salvation,) or that in his office of setting forth of God's word he used no witty persuasions, (which indeed he used most discreetly,) or that the grafter and waterer be nothing, (which be God's creatures made to his similitude, and without whose work there should be no increase,) or to say that he was not alive, (who both lived and ran from country to country, to set forth God's glory,) or clearly to affirm that he gloried and rejoiced in no other thing than

Gal. vi.

BOOK II. in Christ's cross, (who rejoiced with all men that were in joy, and sorrowed with all that were in sorrow,) or to deny

utterly that we wrestle against flesh and blood, (which cease not daily to wrestle and war against our enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil.) In all these sentences, St. Paul, as I said, meant not clearly to deny these things, which undoubtedly were all true, but he meant, that in comparison of other greater things, these smaller were not much to be esteemed; but that the greater things were the chief things to be considered: as that sin committed by his infirmity, was rather to be imputed to original sin or corruption of nature, which lay lurking within him, than to his own will and consent. And that although he was sent to baptize, yet he was chiefly sent to preach God's word. And that although he used wise and discreet persuasions therein, yet the success thereof came principally of the power of God, and of the working of the Holy Spirit. And that although the grafter and waterer of the garden be some things, and do not a little in their offices, yet it is God chiefly that giveth the increase. And that although he lived in this world, yet his chief life, concerning God, was by Christ, whom he had living within him. And that although he gloried in many other things, yea, in his own infirmities, yet his greatest joy was in the redemption by the cross of Christ. And that although our spirit daily fighteth against our flesh, yet our chief and principal fight is against our ghostly enemies, the subtle and puissant wicked spirits and devils.

Gal. ii.

2 Cor. xi.

xii. Gal. vi.

Gal. v.

Ephes. vi.

1 Pet. iii.

The same manner of speech used also St. Peter in his first Epistle, saying, *That the apparel of women should not be outwardly with braided hair and setting on of gold, nor in putting on of gorgeous apparel, but that the inward man of the heart should be without corruption.*

In which manner of speech he intended not utterly to forbid all braiding of hair, all gold and costly apparel to all women; for every one must be apparelled according to their condition, state, and degree; but he meant hereby clearly to condemn all pride and excess in apparel, and to move all women that they should study to deck their souls

inwardly with all virtues, and not to be curious outwardly to deck and adorn their bodies with sumptuous apparel. CHAP.
XII.

And our Saviour Christ himself was full of such manner of speeches. *Gather not unto you*, saith he, *treasure upon earth*: willing us thereby rather to set our minds upon heavenly treasure which ever endureth, than upon earthly treasure, which by many sundry occasions perisheth and is taken away from us. And yet worldly treasure must needs be had and possessed of some men, as the person, time, and occasion doth serve.

Likewise he said, *When you be brought before kings and princes, think not what and how you shall answer*: not willing us by this negative, that we should negligently and unadvisedly answer we care not what, but that we should depend of our heavenly Father, trusting that by his Holy Spirit he will sufficiently instruct us of answer, rather than to trust of any answer to be devised by our own wit and study.

And in the same manner he spake, when he said, *It is not you that speak, but it is the Spirit of God that speaketh within you*. For the Spirit of God is he that principally putteth godly words into our mouths, and yet nevertheless we do speak according to his moving.

And to be short, in all these sentences following, that is to say, *Call no man your father upon earth.—Let no man call you lord or master.—Fear not them that kill the body.* Matt. xxiii.
Ibid.
I came not to send peace upon earth.—It is not in me to set you at my right hand or left hand.—You shall not worship the Father neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem.—I take no witness at no man.—My doctrine is not mine.—I seek not my glory. Matt. x.
Ibid.
Matt. xx.
John iv.
John v.
John vii.
John viii.
In all these negatives, our Saviour Christ spake not precisely and utterly to deny all the foresaid things, but in comparison of them to prefer other things: as to prefer our Father and Lord in heaven above any worldly father, lord, or master in earth, and his fear above the fear of any creature, and his word and Gospel above all worldly peace: also to prefer spiritual and inward honouring of God in pure heart and mind, above local, corporal, and outward

BOOK honour; and that Christ preferred his Father's glory above
II. his own.

Now forasmuch as I have declared at length the nature and kind of these negative speeches, (which be no pure negatives but by comparison,) it is easy hereby to make answer to St. John Chrysostome, who used this phrase of speech most of any author. For his meaning in his fore-said Homily was not, that in the celebration of the Lord's Supper is neither bread nor wine, neither priest, nor the body of Christ, (which the papists themselves must needs confess,) but his intent was to draw our minds upward to heaven, that we should not consider so much the bread, wine, priest, and body of Christ, as we should consider his divinity and Holy Spirit given unto us to our eternal salvation.

John vi.

And therefore in the same place he useth so many times these words, "Think, and think not;" willing us by those words that we should not fix our thoughts and minds upon the bread, wine, priest, nor Christ's body; but to lift up our hearts higher unto his spirit and divinity, without the which his body availeth nothing, as he said himself: *It is the spirit that giveth life, the flesh availeth nothing.*

And as the same Chrysostome in many places moveth us not to consider the water in baptism, but rather to have respect to the Holy Ghost, received in baptism, and represented by the water: even so doth he in this Homily of the holy communion move us to lift up our minds from all visible and corporal things to things invisible and spiritualⁿ.

Insomuch that although Christ was but once crucified, yet would Chrysostome have us to think that we see him daily whipped and scourged before our eyes, and his body hanging upon the cross, and the spear thrust into his side,

ⁿ Chrysostomus, *In 1 Cor. ii.* "Infidelis cum baptismatis lavacrum audit, simpliciter aquam esse sibi persuadet. Ego vero non simpliciter video quod video, sed animæ per Spiritum purgationem, necnon sepulturam, resurrectionem, justitiam, adoptionem, hæreditatem, regnum cælorum, Spiritûs societatem considero. Non enim aspectu judico quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis." Hac loquendi forma usus est Chrysostomus, cum non solum de Eucharistia sed de Baptismo quoque dicit: "Nihil sensibile traditum nobis a Christo." EMERSON.

and the most holy blood to flow out of his side into our mouths. After which manner St. Paul wrote to the Galatians, that Christ *was painted and crucified before their eyes*. CHAP. XII.

Therefore, saith Chrysostome, in the same Homily, a little before the place rehearsed, “What dost thou, O man? didst not thou promise to the priest which said, Lift up your minds and hearts; and thou didst answer, We lift them up unto the Lord? Art not thou ashamed and afraid, being at that same hour found a liar? A wonderful thing: the table is set forth, furnished with God’s mysteries, the Lamb of God is offered for thee, the priest is careful for thee, spiritual fire cometh out of that heavenly table, the angels Seraphin be there present, covering their faces with six wings; all the angelical powers with the priest be means and intercessors for thee, a spiritual fire cometh down from heaven, blood in the cup is drunk out of the most pure side unto thy purification. And art thou not ashamed, afraid, and abashed, not endeavouring thyself to purchase God’s mercy? O man, doth not thine own conscience condemn thee? There be in the week one hundred and sixty-eight hours, and God asketh but one of them to be given wholly unto him, and thou consumest that in worldly business, in trifling and talking; with what boldness then shalt thou come to these holy mysteries, O corrupt conscience?” Chrysostomus.

Hitherto I have rehearsed St. John Chrysostome’s words, which do show, how our minds should be occupied at this holy table of our Lord, that is to say, withdrawn from the consideration of sensible things, unto the contemplation of most heavenly and godly things. And thus is answered this place of Chrysostome, which the papists took for an insoluble, and a place that no man was able to answer. But for a further declaration of Chrysostome’s mind in this matter, read the place of him before rehearsed, p. 324 and 330.

Yet there is another place of St. Ambrose°, which the CHAP. XIII.

° Ambros. *De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur.*

- BOOK. papists think maketh much for their purpose; but after
 II. due examination it shall plainly appear how much they be
 deceived. They allege these words of St. Ambrose, in a
 book entitled, *De iis qui initiantur Mysteriis*: "Let us
 "prove that *there is not that thing which nature formed,*
 "but which benediction did consecrate, and that benediction
 "is of more strength than nature. For by the blessing,
 Exod. iv. "nature itself is also changed. Moses held a rod, he cast
 "it from him, and it was made a serpent. Again he took
 "the serpent by the tail, and it was turned again into the
 "nature of a rod. Wherefore thou seest, that by the grace
 "of the Prophet, the nature of the serpent and rod was
 Exod. vii. "twice changed. The floods of Egypt ran pure water and
 "suddenly blood began to burst out of the veins of the
 "springs, so that men could not drink of the flood; but, at
 "the prayer of the Prophet, the blood of the flood went
 "away, and the nature of water came again. The people
 "of the Hebrews were compassed about on the one side
 "with the Egyptians, and on the other side with the sea.
 Exod. xiv. "Moses lifted up his rod, the water divided itself and stood
 "up like a wall, and between the waters was left a way for
 Josh. iii. "them to pass on foot. And Jordan, against nature, turned
 "back to the head of his spring. Doth it not appear now
 "that the nature of the sea floods, or of the course of fresh
 Exod. xvii. "water, was changed? The people was dry, Moses touched
 "a stone, and water came out of the stone. Did not grace
 "here work above nature, to make the stone to bring forth
 Exod. xv. "water, which it had not of nature? Marath was a most
 "bitter flood, so that the people being dry could not drink
 "thereof. Moses put wood into the water, and the nature
 "of the water lost his bitterness, which grace infused did
 2 Kings vi. "suddenly moderate. In the time of Heliseus the Prophet,
 "an axe-head fell from one of the Prophet's servants into
 "the water; he that lost the iron, desired the Prophet
 "Heliseus' help, who put the helve into the water, and the
 "iron swam above. Which thing we know was done above
 "nature, for iron is heavier than the liquor of water. Thus
 "we perceive that grace is of more force than nature, and

“ yet hitherto we have rehearsed but the grace of the
 “ blessing of the prophets. *Now if the blessing of a man*
 “ *be of such value that it may change nature, what do we*
 “ *say of the consecration of God, wherein is the operation*
 “ *of the words of our Saviour Christ?* For this sacrament
 “ which thou receivest is done by the word of Christ.
 “ Then if the word of Helias was of such power that it
 “ could bring fire down from heaven, *shall not the word of*
 “ *Christ be of that power to change the kinds of the ele-*
 “ *ments?* Of the making of the whole world thou hast read,
 “ that God spake, and the things were done; he com-
 “ manded, and they were created. The word then of Christ
 “ that could of no things make things that were not, can it
 “ not change those things that be, into that thing which be-
 “ fore they were not? For it is no less matter to give to
 “ things new natures, than to alter natures⁹.”

Psalm
cxlviii.

Thus far have I rehearsed the words of St. Ambrose, if the said book be his, (which they that be of greatest learning and judgment do not think^r,) by which words the papists would prove, that in the Supper of the Lord after the words of consecration, as they be commonly called, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, because that St. Ambrose saith in this place, that the nature of bread and wine is changed.

But to satisfy their minds, let us grant for their pleasure, that the foresaid book was St. Ambrose's own work; yet
 the same book maketh nothing for their purpose, but quite
 against them. For he saith not that the substance of
 bread and wine is gone, but he saith that their nature is
 changed; that is to say, that in the holy communion we
 ought not to receive the bread and wine as other common
 meats and drinks, but as things clean changed into a higher
 estate, nature, and condition, to be taken as holy meats and

⁹ “ Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est, vere
 “ ergo carnis illius sacramentum est. Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus, *Hoc*
 “ *est corpus meum*. Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species
 “ nominatur: post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur.” EMBD.

^r [Respecting the spuriousness of this work, and of that which is
 quoted shortly afterwards *De Sacramentis*, see note, p. 326.]

**BOOK
II.**

drinks, whereby we receive spiritual feeding and supernatural nourishment from heaven, of the very true body and blood of our Saviour Christ, through the omnipotent power of God and the wonderful working of the Holy Ghost. Which so well agreeth with the substance of bread and wine still remaining, that if they were gone away, and not there, this our spiritual feeding could not be taught unto us by them.

And therefore in the most part of the examples which St. Ambrose allegeth for the wonderful alteration of natures, the substances did still remain, after the natures and properties were changed. As when the water of Jordan, contrary to his nature, stood still like a wall, or flowed against the stream towards the head and spring, yet the substance of the water remained the same that it was before. Likewise the stone, that above his nature and kind flowed water, was the self-same stone that it was before. And the flood of Marath, that changed his nature of bitterness, changed, for all that, no part of his substance. No more did that iron, which contrary to his nature swam upon the water, lose thereby any part of the substance thereof. Therefore as in these alterations of natures the substances nevertheless remained the same that they were before the alterations; even so doth the substance of bread and wine remain in the Lord's Supper, and be naturally received and digested into the body, notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of the same into the body and blood of Christ. Which sacramental mutation declareth the supernatural, spiritual, and inexplicable eating and drinking, feeding and digesting, of the same body and blood of Christ, in all them that godly and according to their duty, do receive the said sacramental bread and wine.

And that St. Ambrose thus meant, that the substance of bread and wine remain still after the consecration, it is most clear by three other examples of the same matter, following in the same chapter. One is of them that be regenerated, in whom after their regeneration doth still remain their former natural substance. Another is of the incarnation of

our Saviour Christ, in the which perished no substance, but remained as well the substance of his Godhead, as the substance which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary. The third example is of the water in baptism, where the water still remaineth water, although the Holy Ghost come upon the water, or rather upon him that is baptized therein.

And although the same St. Ambrose, in another book, entitled *De Sacramentis*, doth say, "That the bread is bread before the words of consecration; but *when the consecration is done, of bread is made the body of Christ*:" yet in the same book, and in the same chapter, he telleth in what manner and form the same is done by the words of Christ; not by taking away the substance of the bread, but adding to the bread the grace of Christ's body, and so calling it the body of Christ.

And hereof he bringeth four examples; the first, of the regeneration of a man; the second is of the standing of the water of the Red Sea; the third is of the bitter water of Marath; and the fourth is of the iron that swam above the water. In every of the which examples, the former substance remained still, notwithstanding alteration of the natures. And he concludeth the whole matter in these few words: "If there be so much strength in the words of the Lord Jesu, that things had their beginning which never were before, how much more be they able to work, that those things that were before should remain, and also be changed into other things!" Which words do show manifestly, that notwithstanding this wonderful sacramental and spiritual changing of the bread into the body of Christ, yet the substance of the bread remaineth the same that it was before.

Thus is a sufficient answer made unto three principal authorities, which the papists use to allege to stablish their error of transubstantiation: the first of Cyprian, the second of St. John Chrysostome, and the third of St. Ambrose. Other authorities and reasons some of them do bring for the same purpose; but forasmuch as they be of small moment and weight and easy to be answered unto, I will

¹ Lib. 4. *De Sacramentis*, cap. 4.

BOOK II. pass them over at this time, and not trouble the reader with them, but leave them to be weighed by his discretion.

CHAP. XIV. ^s And now I will rehearse divers difficulties, absurdities, and inconveniences, which must needs follow upon this error

Absurdities
that follow
of transub-
stantiation.

of transubstantiation; whereof not one doth follow of the true and right faith which is according to God's word.

First, if the papists be demanded, what thing it is that is broken, what is eaten, what is drunken, and what is chewed with the teeth, lips, and mouth in this sacrament, they have nothing to answer but the accidents. For, as they say, bread and wine be not the visible elements in this sacrament, but only their accidents; and so they be forced to say, that accidents be broken, eaten, drunken, chewen, and swallowed, without any substance at all: which is not only against all reason, but also against the doctrine of all ancient authors.

Secondly, these transubstantiators do say, contrary to all learning, that the accidents of bread and wine do hang alone in the air without any substance wherein they may be stayed. And what can be said more foolishly?

Thirdly, that the substance of Christ's body is there really, corporally, and naturally present, without any accidents of the same. And so the papists make accidents to be without substances, and substances to be without accidents.

Fourthly, they say, that the place where the bread and wine be, hath no substance there to fill that place, and so must they needs grant *vacuum*, which nature utterly abhorreth.

Fifthly, they are not ashamed to say, that substance is made of accidents, when the bread mouldeth, or is turned into worms, or when the wine soureth.

Sixthly, that substance is nourished without substance by accidents only, if it chance any cat, mouse, dog, or any other thing, to eat the sacramental bread, or drink the sacramental wine.

These inconveniences and absurdities do follow of the

^s See above, chap. iii.

fond papistical transubstantiation, with a number of other errors as evil or worse than these, whereunto they be never able to answer, as many of them have confessed themselves.

And it is a wonder to see, how in many of the foresaid things they vary among themselves. Whereas the other doctrine of the Scripture, and of the old catholic Church, (but not of the lately corrupted Romish Church,) is plain and easy, as well to be understood, as to answer to all the foresaid questions, without any absurdity or inconvenience following thereof: so that every answer shall agree with God's word, with the old Church, and also with all reason and true philosophy.

For as touching the first point, what is broken, what is eaten, what drunken, and what chawen in this sacrament, it is easy to answer, The bread and wine, as St. Paul saith: 1 Cor. x. *The bread which we break.*

And as concerning the second and third points, neither is the substance of bread and wine without their proper accidents, nor their accidents hang alone in the air without any substance, but according to all learning the substances of the bread and wine reserve their own accidents, and the accidents do rest in their own substances.

And also as concerning the fourth point, there is no place left void after consecration, as the papists dream, but bread and wine fulfil their places, as they did before.

And as touching the fifth point, whereof the worms or moulding is engendered, and whereof the vinegar cometh, the answer is easy to make, according to all learning and experience, that they come according to the course of nature of the substance of the bread and wine too long kept, and not of the accidents alone, as the papists do fondly phantasy.

And likewise the substances of bread and wine do feed and nourish the body of them that eat the same, and not only the accidents.

In these answers is no absurdity nor inconvenience, nothing spoken either contrary to holy Scripture, or to natural reason, philosophy, or experience, or against any old

BOOK ancient author, or the primitive or catholic Church; but
II. only against the malignant and papistical Church of Rome.
Whereas on the other side, that cursed synagogue of Antichrist hath defined and determined in this matter many things contrary to Christ's words, contrary to the old catholic Church and the holy martyrs and doctors of the same, and contrary to all natural reason, learning, and philosophy.

And the final end of all this Antichrist's doctrine is none other, but by subtlety and craft to bring Christian people from the true honouring of Christ, unto the greatest idolatry that ever was in this world devised: as, by God's grace, shall be plainly set forth hereafter.

THUS ENDETH THE SECOND BOOK.

*The Third Book teacheth the manner how Christ
is present in his Supper.*

Now this matter of transubstantiation being, as I trust, sufficiently resolved, which is the first part before rehearsed, wherein the papistical doctrine varieth from the catholic truth, order requireth next to intreat of the second part, which is of the manner of the presence of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ in the sacrament thereof, wherein is no less contention than in the first part.

CHAP.
I.

The presence of
Christ in the
sacrament.

For a plain explication whereof, it is not unknown to all true faithful Christian people, that our Saviour Christ, being perfect God, and in all things equal and coeternal with his Father, for our sakes became also a perfect man, taking flesh and blood of his blessed mother and Virgin Mary, and, saving sin, being in all things like unto us, adjoining unto his divinity a most perfect soul and a most perfect body ; his soul being endued with life, sense, will, reason, wisdom, memory, and all other things required to the perfect soul of man ; and his body being made of very flesh and bones, not only having all members of a perfect man's body in due order and proportion, but also being subject to hunger, thirst, labour, sweat, weariness, cold, heat, and all other like infirmities and passions of man, and unto death also, and that the most vile and painful upon the cross. And after his death he rose again with the selfsame visible and palpable body, and appeared therewith, and showed the same unto his Apostles, and specially to Thomas, making him to put his hands into his side and to feel his wounds. And with the selfsame body he forsook this world, and ascended into heaven, (the apostles seeing and beholding his body when it ascended,) and now sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and there shall remain until the last day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Christ corporally is
ascended
into heaven.

Acts iii.

This is the true catholic faith which the Scripture

BOOK III. teacheth, and the universal Church of Christ hath ever believed from the beginning, until within these four or five hundred years last past, that the Bishop of Rome, with the assistance of his papists, hath set up a new faith and belief of their own devising, that the same body really, corporally, naturally, and sensibly is in this world still, and that in an hundred thousand places at one time, being enclosed in every pix and bread consecrated.

CHAP. II. And although we do affirm according to God's word, that Christ is in all persons that truly believe in him, in such sort, that with his flesh and blood he doth spiritually nourish them and feed them, and giveth them everlasting life, and doth assure them thereof, as well by the promise of his word, as by the sacramental bread and wine in his holy Supper, which he did institute for the same purpose, yet we do not a little vary from the heinous errors of the papists.

The difference between the true and the papistical doctrine concerning the presence of Christ's body.

The first comparison. For they teach, that Christ is in the bread and wine^a: but we say, according to the truth, that he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine.

The second comparison. They say, that when any man eateth the bread and drinketh the cup, Christ goeth into his mouth or stomach with the bread and wine, and no further: but we say, that Christ is in the whole man, both in the body and soul of him that worthily eateth the bread and drinketh the cup, and not in his mouth or stomach only.

The third comparison. They say, that Christ is received in the mouth, and entereth in with the bread and wine: we say, that he is received in the heart, and entereth in by faith.

The fourth comparison. They say, that Christ is really in the sacramental bread, being reserved an whole year, or so long as the form of bread remaineth; but after the receiving thereof, he flyeth up, say they, from the receiver unto heaven, as soon as the bread is chewed in the mouth, or changed in the stomach: but we say, that Christ remaineth in the man that worthily receiveth it, so long as the man remaineth a member of Christ.

^a Id est, sub speciebus panis et vini. *EMBD.*

They say, that in the sacrament, the corporal members of Christ be not distant in place one from another, but that wheresoever the head is, there be the feet, and wheresoever the arms be, there be the legs; so that in every part of the bread and wine is altogether whole head, whole feet, whole flesh, whole blood, whole heart, whole lungs, whole breast, whole back, and altogether whole, confused and mixed without distinction or diversity. O, what a foolish and an abominable invention is this, to make of the most pure and perfect body of Christ such a confused and monstrous body! And yet can the papists imagine nothing so foolish, but all Christian people must receive the same as an oracle of God, and as a most certain article of their faith, without whispering to the contrary.

Furthermore the papists say, that a dog or a cat eateth the body of Christ, if they by chance do eat the sacramental bread: we say, that no earthly creature can eat the body of Christ nor drink his blood, but only man.

They say, that every man, good and evil, eateth the body of Christ: we say, that both do eat the sacramental bread and drink the wine, but none do eat the very body of Christ and drink his blood, but only they that be lively members of his body.

They say, that good men eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, only at that time when they receive the sacrament: we say, that they eat, drink, and feed of Christ continually, so long as they be members of his body.

They say, that the body of Christ that is in the sacrament, hath his own proper form and quantity: we say, that Christ is there sacramentally and spiritually, without form or quantity.

They say, that the fathers and prophets of the Old Testament did not eat the body nor drink the blood of Christ: we say, that they did eat his body and drink his blood, although he was not yet born nor incarnated.

They say, that the body of Christ is every day many times made, as often as there be masses said, and that then and there he is made of bread and wine: we say, that

CHAP.
II.

The fifth
compari-
son.

The sixth
compari-
son.

The seventh
compari-
son.

The eighth
compari-
son.

The ninth
compari-
son.

The tenth
compari-
son.

The ele-
venth com-
parison.

**BOOK
III.**

Christ's body was never but once made, and then not of the nature and substance of bread and wine, but of the substance of his blessed mother.

The twelfth
compari-
son.

They say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory for sin, by the devotion of the priest that offereth, and not by the thing that is offered: but we say, that their saying is a most heinous lie and detestable error against the glory of Christ. For the satisfaction for our sins is not the devotion nor offering of the priest; but the only host and satisfaction for all the sins of the world is the death of Christ, and the oblation of his body upon the cross, that is to say, the oblation that Christ himself offered once upon the cross, and never but once, nor never none but he. And therefore that oblation, which the priests make daily in their papistical masses, cannot be a satisfaction for other men's sins by the priest's devotion, but it is a mere elusion and subtle craft of the Devil, whereby Antichrist hath many years blinded and deceived the world.

The thir-
teenth com-
parison.

They say, that Christ is corporally in many places at one time, affirming that his body is corporally and really present in as many places as there be hosts consecrated: we say, that as the sun corporally is ever in heaven, and no where else; and yet by his operation and virtue the sun is here in earth, by whose influence and virtue all things in the world be corporally regenerated, increased, and grow to their perfect state; so likewise our Saviour Christ bodily and corporally is in heaven, sitting at the right hand of his Father, although spiritually he hath promised to be present with us upon earth unto the world's end. And whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name, he is there in the midst among them, by whose supernal grace all godly men be first by him spiritually regenerated, and after increase and grow to their spiritual perfection in God, spiritually by faith eating his flesh and drinking his blood, although the same corporally be in heaven, far distant from our sight.

**CHAP.
III.**

Now to return to the principal matter, lest it might be thought a new device of us, that Christ as concerning his

body and his human nature is in heaven, and not in earth : therefore by God's grace, it shall be evidently proved, that this is no new devised matter, but that it was ever the old faith of the catholic Church, until the papists invented a new faith, that Christ really, corporally, naturally, and sensibly is here still with us in earth, shut up in a box or within the compass of bread and wine.

CHAP.
III.

Christ corporally is in heaven and not in earth. [1580.]

This needeth no better nor stronger proof, than that which the old authors bring for the same, that is to say, the general profession of all Christian people in the common Creed, wherein, as concerning Christ's humanity, they be taught to believe after this sort : that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary ; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried ; that he descended into hell, and rose again the third day ; that *he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his almighty Father*, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

The proof thereof by our profession in our common Creed.

This hath been ever the catholic faith of Christian people, that Christ, as concerning his body and his manhood, is in heaven, and shall there continue until he come down at the last judgment.

And forasmuch as the Creed maketh so express mention of the article of his ascension and departing hence from us ; if it had been another article of our faith, that his body tarrieth also here with us in earth, surely in this place of the Creed was so urgent an occasion given to make some mention thereof, that doubtless it would not have been passed over in our Creed with silence. For if Christ, as concerning his humanity, be both here and gone hence, and both those two be articles of our faith, when mention was made of the one in the Creed, it was necessary to make mention of the other, lest, by professing the one, we should be dissuaded from believing the other, being so contrary the one to the other.

To this article of our Creed accordeth holy Scripture, and all the old ancient doctors of Christ's Church. For Christ himself said, *I leave the world, and go to my Father*.

CHAP.
IV.

The proof hereof by

BOOK III. And also he said, *You shall ever have poor folks with you, but you shall not ever have me with you.* And he gave the Scripture. warning of this error beforehand, saying, *That the time would come when many deceivers should be in the world, and* John xvi. say, Here is Christ, *and there is Christ; but believe them* Matt. xxvi. *not*, said Christ. And St. Mark writeth in the last chapter Matt. xxiv. of his Gospel, *That the Lord Jesus was taken up into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father.* And St. Mark xvi. Paul exhorteth all men *to seek for things that be above* in Coloss. iii. heaven, where Christ, saith he, sitteth at the right hand of Heb. viii. God his Father. Also he saith, *That we have such a bishop, that sitteth in heaven at the right hand of the throne* Heb. x. *of God's majesty.* And *that he having offered one sacrifice for sins, sitteth continually at the right hand of God, until his enemies be put under his feet as a footstool*^b.

And hereunto consent all the old doctors of the Church.

CHAP. V. First, Origen^c upon Matthew reasoneth this matter, how Christ may be called a stranger that is departed into another country, seeing that he is with us alway unto the world's end, and is among all them that be gathered together in his name, and also in the midst of them that know him not. And thus he reasoneth: If he be here among us still, how can he be gone hence as a stranger departed into another country? Whereunto he answereth, that Christ is both God and man, having in him two natures. And *as a man, he is not with us unto the world's end, nor is present with all his faithful that be gathered together in his name*; but his divine power and spirit is ever with us. Paul, saith he, was absent from the Corinthians in his body, when he was present with them in his spirit. *So is Christ, saith he, gone hence and absent in his humanity, which in his divine nature is every where.* And in this saying, saith Origen, we divide not his humanity; for [1 John iv.] St. John writeth, that *no spirit that divideth Jesus can be*

^b *Quem oportet calum suscipere usque ad tempus restitutionis omnium.*
Acts iii. EMBD.

^c Origen. in Mat. cap. 25. tract. 33.

of God; but we reserve to both his natures their own properties. CHAP.
V.

In these words Origen hath plainly declared his mind, that Christ's body is not both present here with us, and also gone hence and estranged from us. For that were to make two natures of one body, and to divide the body of Jesus; forasmuch as one nature cannot at one time be both with us and absent from us. And therefore saith Origen, that the presence must be understood of his divinity, and the absence of his humanity.

And according hereunto, St. Augustine writeth thus, in a pistle *Ad Dardanum*^d. "Doubt not but *Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is now there from whence he shall come*; and remember well and believe the profession of a Christian man, that he rose from death, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other, shall he come to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the angels said, as he was seen go into heaven, that is to say, in the same form and *substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not nature*. After this form," saith he, meaning his man's nature, "*we may not think that he is every where. For we must beware, that we do not so stablish his divinity, that we take away the verity of his body*."

These be St. Augustine's plain words.

And by and by after, he addeth these words: "The Lord Jesus as God is every where, and *as man is in heaven*." And, finally, he concludeth this matter in these few words: "Doubt not but our Lord Jesus Christ is every where as God; and as a dweller he is in man that is the temple of God, and *he is in a certain place in heaven, because of the measure of a very body*."

And again St. Augustine writeth upon the Gospel of St.

^d August. *Ad Dardanum, Epist. 57.*

^e Hunc locum citat Leo, Epistola ultima, ad probandum in Christo veram formam humanam. Et in tota Epistola, forma accipitur pro substantia. EMBD.

BOOK III. John^f: "Our Saviour Jesus Christ," saith St. Augustine, "is above, but yet his truth is here. *His body wherein he arose is in one place*, but the truth of his word is spread every where."

And in another place of the same book ⁸, St. Augustine, John xii. expounding these words of Christ, *You shall ever have poor men with you, but me you shall not ever have*, saith, "That Christ spake these words of the presence of his body. For," saith he, "as concerning his Divine Majesty, as concerning his providence, as concerning his infallible and invisible grace, these words be fulfilled which he spake, Mat. xxviii. *I am with you unto the world's end*. But as concerning the flesh which he took in his incarnation, as concerning that which was born of the Virgin, as concerning that which was apprehended by the Jews, and crucified upon a tree, and taken down from the cross, lapped in linen clothes, and buried, and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection; as concerning that flesh he said, *You shall not ever have me with you*. Wherefore seeing that as concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying, seeing, and following him, he went up into heaven, both *he is not here*, (*for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father*), and yet he is here, for he departed not hence, as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty. As concerning the presence of his Majesty, we have Christ ever with us; but as concerning the presence of his flesh, he said truly to his disciples, *Ye shall not ever have me with you*. For as concerning the presence of his flesh, the Church had Christ but a few days; yet now it holdeth him fast by faith, though it see him not with eyes^h."

All these be St. Augustine's words.

Also in another bookⁱ, entitled to St. Augustine, is writ-

^f In Joan. Tract. 30.

⁸ In Joan. Tract. 50.

^h "Ergo, si ita dictum est; *Me autem non semper habebitis*, quæstio, sicut arbitror, jam nulla est, quæ duobus modis soluta est." EMBD.

ⁱ *De Essentia Divinitatis*. [This work is considered spurious by the Benedictine editors.]

ten thus: "We must believe and confess that the Son of God, as concerning his divinity, is invisible, without a body, immortal, and incircumscribable; but, as concerning his humanity, we ought to believe and confess that he is visible, hath a body, and *is contained in a certain place, and hath truly all the members of a man*."^k

Of these words of St. Augustine it is most clear, that the profession of the catholic faith is, that Christ, as concerning his bodily substance and nature of man, is in heaven, and not present here with us in earth. For the nature and property of a very body is to be in one place, and to occupy one place, and not to be every where or in many places at one time. And though the body of Christ, after his resurrection and ascension, was made immortal, yet the nature thereof was not changed; for then, as St. Augustine saith, it were no very body. And further, St. Augustine sheweth both the manner and form, how Christ is here present with us in earth, and how he is absent, saying, that he is present by his divine nature and majesty, by his pro-

^k Augustinus, *De verbis Domini Sermones* 53. "In cœlis Christus erat et persecutori dicebat: 'Quid me persequeris?' Ubi Dominus expressit sic et hic se esse in nobis. Sic totus crescit, quia quemadmodum ille in nobis hic, sic et nos ibi in illo sumus." Idem, *In Joan. tract.* 50. "Quomodo tenebo absentem? Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti: Parentes tui tenuerunt carne, tu tene corde, quoniam Christus absens, etiam præsens est. Nisi præsens esset, a nobis teneri non posset: sed quoniam verum est quod ait: *Ecce ego vobiscum sum* &c., et abiit et hic est, et rediit et nos deseruit. Corpus suum intulit cœlo, maiestatem non abstulit mundo." Et mox: "*Me autem non semper habebitis*. Quid est enim 'non semper'? Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertines (quod significat Petrus) habes Christum et in præsenti et in futuro. In præsenti per fidem, in præsenti per signum, in præsenti per baptismi sacramentum, in præsenti per altaris cibum et potum." Idem, *In Joan. tract.* 102. super illis verbis: *Relinquo mundum* &c. "Reliquit mundum corporali discessione, perrexit ad Patrem hominis ascensione, nec mundum deseruit præsentiæ gubernatione."

Idem, *De Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, lib. ii. "Quis est iste sponsus, absens et præsens? Quis est iste sponsus præsens et latens? quem sponsa Ecclesia fide tantum concipit, et sine ullo amplexu membra ejus quotidie parit?" Et mox: "Ipsa est virtus omnipotentis tuæ, ut plus possis in ipsis fidelibus, quando absens ab eis in homine illo suscepto sentiris. Cæterum præsentiæ tuæ maiestatis de cordibus fidelium tuorum nunquam discedis." Et mox: "Accipit Petrus, ut moreretur pro absente, quem desperando negaverat præsentem." ЕММД.

BOOK
III.

vidence, and by his grace; but by his human nature and very body, he is absent from this world, and present in heaven.

Cyrillus¹ likewise, upon the Gospel of St. John, agreeth fully with St. Augustine, saying, “Although *Christ took away from hence the presence of his body*, yet in the majesty of his Godhead he is ever here, as he promised to his disciples at his departing, saying, *I am with you ever unto the world’s end.*”

And in another place^m of the same book, St. Cyril saith thus: “Christian people must believe, that although *Christ be absent from us as concerning his body*, yet by his power he governeth us and all things, and is present with all them that love him. Therefore he said, *Truly, truly, I say unto you, wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* For like as when he was conversant here in earth as a man, yet then he filled heaven, and did not leave the company of angels: even so *being now in heaven with his flesh*, yet he filleth the earth, and is in them that love him. And it is to be marked, that although *Christ should go away only as concerning his flesh*, (for he is ever present in the power of his divinity,) *yet for a little time he said he would be with his disciples.*” These be the words of St. Cyril.

St. Ambrose also saithⁿ, “That we must not seek Christ upon earth, *nor in earth, but in heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of his Father.*”

And likewise St. Gregory^o writeth thus: “Christ,” saith he, “*is not here by the presence of his flesh*, and yet he is absent no where by the presence of his majesty.”

¹ Cyrillus, *In Joan.* lib. ix. cap. 14.

^m Lib. ix. cap. 21.

ⁿ Ambrosius, *In Lucam*, lib. x. cap. 24.

^o Gregorius in *Hom. Paschatis*.

^p Beda in *Homil. Paschali quadam* super illis verbis: *Ecce ego vobis cum sum.* “Ipse Deus et homo assumptus est humanitate quam de terra suscepit, manet cum sanctis in terra divinitate qua terram pariter implet et cælum.” Idem super illis verbis: *Modicum jam, et non videbitis me.* “Ac si aperte diceret: Propterea me suscitatum a mortuis modico tempore videbitis, quia non semper in terra corpora-

What subtlety thinkest thou, good reader, can the papists now imagine, to defend their pernicious error, that Christ in his human nature is bodily here in earth, in the consecrated bread and wine; seeing that all the old Church of Christ believed the contrary, and all the old authors wrote the contrary? CHAP.
V.

For they all affirmed and believed that Christ, being one person, hath nevertheless in him two natures or substances, that is to say, the nature of his Godhead, and the nature of his manhood. They say furthermore, that Christ is both gone hence from us unto heaven, and is also here with us in earth, but not in his human nature, as the papists would have us to believe; but the old authors say, that he is in heaven, as concerning his manhood, and nevertheless both here, and there, and every where, as concerning his Godhead. For although his Divinity be such that it is infinite, without measure, compass, or place; so that, as concerning that nature, he is circumscribed with no place, but is every where, and filleth all the world: yet, as concerning his human nature, he hath measure, compass, and place; so that when he was here upon earth, he was not at the same time in heaven; and now that he is ascended into heaven, as concerning that nature he hath now forsaken the earth, and is only in heaven.

For one nature that is circumscribed, compassed, and measured, cannot be in divers places at one time. This is the faith of the old catholic Church, as appeareth as well by the authors before rehearsed, as by these that hereafter follow. CHAP.
VI.

One body
cannot be
in divers
places at
one time.

St. Augustine speaking that a body must needs be in some place, saith, “That *if it be not within the compass of a place, it is no where*. And if it be no where, then it is *not*.”

“liter mansurus, sed per humilitatem quam assumpsi, jam sum ascensus in cœlum.” Idem in *Homil. in Vigilia Pentecostes*: “Ille post resurrectionem ascendens in cœlum, eos corporaliter deseruit, quibus tamen divinæ præsentia majestatis nunquam defuit, ideo recte de hoc paracletus subjunxit: Ut maneat vobiscum in æternum.” EMBD.

¹ *Ad Dardanum Epist. 57.*

BOOK
III.

And St. Cyril, considering the proper nature of a very body, said, "That *if the nature of the Godhead were a body, it must needs be in a place, and have quantity, greatness, and circumscription*^r."

If then the nature of the Godhead must needs be circumscribed if it were a body, much more must the nature of Christ's manhood be circumscribed and contained within the compass of a certain place.

Didymus also^s, in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*, (which St. Hierome did translate,) proveth, that the Holy Ghost is very God, because he is in many places at one time, which no creature can be. For, saith he, *all creatures, visible and invisible, be circumscribed and environed either within one place, (as corporal and visible things be,) or within the property of their own substance, (as angels and invisible creatures be,) so that no angel, saith he, can be at one time in two places. And forasmuch as the Holy Ghost is in many men at one time, therefore, saith he, the Holy Ghost must needs be God.*

The same affirmeth also St. Basil^t, "That the angel which was with Cornelius was not at the same time with Philip; nor the angel which spake to Zachary in the altar was not the same time in his proper place in heaven. But *the Holy Ghost was at one time in Abakuk, and in Daniel in Babylon, and with Hieremy in prison, and with Ezekiel in Chober; whereby he proveth that the Holy Ghost is God.*"

Wherefore the papists, which say that the body of Christ is in an infinite number of places at one time, do make his body to be God, and so confound the two natures of Christ, attributing to his human nature that thing which belongeth only to his divinity, which is a most heinous and detestable heresy.

Against whom writeth Fulgentius^u in this wise, speaking

^r Cyrillus, *De Trin.* lib. ii.

^s Didymus, *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. i. cap. 1.

^t Basilus, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. 22.

^u Fulgentius, *Ad Trasimundum Regem*, lib. ii.

of the distinction and diversity of the two natures in Christ : CHAP. VI.
 “ One and the selfsame Christ,” saith he, “ of mankind was
 “ made a man *compassed in a place*, who of his Father is
 “ God without measure or place. One and the selfsame
 “ person, as concerning his man’s substance, was not in
 “ heaven when he was in earth, and *forsook the earth when*
 “ *he ascended into heaven* : but as concerning his godly
 “ substance, which is above all measure, he neither left
 “ heaven when he came from heaven, nor he left not the
 “ earth when he ascended into heaven, which may be known
 “ by the most certain word of Christ himself, who to show
 “ *the placing of his humanity*, said to his disciples, *I ascend* John xvi.
 “ *up to my Father and your Father, to my God and your*
 “ *God*. Also when he had said of Lazarus, that he was
 “ dead, he added, saying, *I am glad for your sakes, that* John xi.
 “ *you may believe ; for I was not there*. But to show the
 “ unmeasurable compass of his divinity, he said to his dis-
 “ ciples, *Behold, I am with you always unto the world’s end*. Matt.
 “ Now how did he go up into heaven, but because *he is a* xxviii.
 “ *very man, contained within a place ? Or how is he pre-*
 “ *sent with faithful people, but because he is very God,*
 “ *being without measure * ?*”

Of these words of Fulgentius it is declared most certainly, that Christ is not here with us in earth, but by his Godhead, and that his humanity is in heaven only, and absent from us.

Yet the same is more plainly showed, (if more plainly can be spoken,) by Vigilius†, a bishop and an holy martyr. He writeth thus against the heretic Eutyches, which denied the humanity of Christ, holding opinion that he was only God and not man. Whose error Vigilius confuting, proveth that Christ had in him two natures joined together in one person, the nature of his Godhead and the nature of

* Et lib. iii. “ Idem atque inseparabilis Christus secundum solam carnem de sepulchro surrexit, secundum totum hominem quem accepit, terram localiter deserens, ad cœlum ascendit et in dextris Dei sedet : secundum eundem totum hominem venturus est ad judicandum vivos et mortuos.” EMBD.

† Vigilius, *Contra Eutychen*, lib. i.

- BOOK III. his manhood. Thus he writeth : " Christ said to his disciples, *If you loved me, you would be glad, for I go unto my Father.* And again he said, *It is expedient for you that I go, for if I go not, the Comforter shall not come to you.* And yet surely the eternal word of God, the virtue of God, the wisdom of God, was ever with his Father and in his Father, yea even at the same time when he was with us and in us. For when he did mercifully dwell in this world, he left not his habitation in heaven, for he is every where whole with his Father equal in Divinity, whom no place can contain, for the Son filleth all things, and there is no place that lacketh the presence of his Divinity. From whence then and whither did he say that he would go? Or how did he say that he went to his Father, from whom doubtless he never departed? But *that to go to his Father, and from us, was to take from this world that nature which he received of us.* Thou seest, therefore, that it was the property of that nature to be taken away and go from us, which in the end of the world shall be rendered again to us, as the angels witnessed, saying,
- Acts i. *This Jesus, which is taken from you, shall come again, like as you saw him going up into heaven.* For look upon the miracle, look upon the mystery of both the natures. The Son of God, *as concerning his humanity, went from us*; as concerning his Divinity, he said unto
- Matt. ult. *us, Behold I am with you all the days unto the world's end."*

Thus far have I rehearsed the words of Vigilus, and by and by he concludeth thus: " He is with us, and not with us. For *those whom he left and went from them, as concerning his humanity,* those he left not nor forsook them not, as touching his Divinity. For *as touching the form of a servant, which he took away from us into heaven, he is absent from us*; but by the form of God, which goeth not from us, he is present with us in earth: and nevertheless both present and absent, he is all one Christ."

Hitherto you have heard Vigilus speak, that Christ as concerning his bodily presence, and the nature of his man-

hood is gone from us, taken from us, is gone up into heaven, is not with us, hath left us, hath forsaken us. But as concerning the other nature of his Deity, he is still with us; so that he is both with us, and not with us: with us in the nature of his Deity, and not with us in the nature of his humanity.

And yet more clearly doth the same Vigilius declare the same thing in another place^a, saying, "If the Word and the flesh were both of one nature, seeing that the Word is everywhere, why is not the flesh then everywhere? For *when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth.* And it is *so sure that it is not in earth*, that as concerning it we look for him to come from heaven, whom, as concerning his eternal Word, we believe to be with us in earth. Therefore by your doctrine," saith Vigilius unto Eutyches, who defended that the Divinity and humanity in Christ was but one nature, "either the Word is contained in a place with his flesh, or else the flesh is everywhere with the Word. For *one nature cannot receive in itself two divers and contrary things.* But these two things be divers and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be everywhere. Therefore inasmuch as the Word is everywhere, and the flesh is not everywhere, it appeareth plainly, that one Christ himself hath in him two natures; and that by his divine nature he is everywhere, and *by his human nature he is contained in a place*; that he is created, and hath no beginning; that he is subject to death, and cannot die. Whereof one he hath by the nature of his Word, whereby he is God, and the other he hath by the nature of his flesh, whereby the same God is man also. Therefore one Son of God, the self-same was made the Son of man, and he hath a beginning by the nature of his flesh, and no beginning by the nature of his Godhead. He is created by the nature of his flesh, and not created by the nature of his Godhead. *He is comprehended in a place by the nature*

^a *Contra Eutychen*, lib. iv.

BOOK
III.

“ *of his flesh*, and not comprehended in a place by the nature of his Godhead. He is inferior to angels in the nature of his flesh, and is equal to his Father in the nature of his Godhead. He died by the nature of his flesh, and died not by the nature of his Godhead. This is the faith and catholic confession which the Apostles taught, the martyrs did corroborate, and faithful people keep unto this day.”

All these be the sayings of Vigilius, who according to all the other authors before rehearsed, and to the faith and catholic confession of the Apostles, martyrs, and all faithful people unto his time, saith, that as concerning Christ's humanity, when he was here on earth, he was not in heaven; and now when he is in heaven, he is not in earth. For one nature cannot be both contained in a place in heaven, and be also here in earth at one time. And forasmuch as Christ is here with us in earth, and also is contained in a place in heaven, he proveth thereby, that Christ hath two natures in him, the nature of a man, whereby he is gone from us and ascended into heaven; and the nature of his Godhead, whereby he is here with us in earth. So that it is not one nature that is here with us, and that is gone from us, that is ascended into heaven and there contained, and that is permanent here with us on earth.

Wherefore the papists, which now of late years have made a new faith, that Christ's natural body is really and naturally present both with us here in earth, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father in heaven, do err in two very horrible heresies.

The one, that they confound his two natures, his Godhead and his manhood, attributing unto his humanity that thing which appertaineth only to his Divinity, that is to say, to be in heaven and earth and in many places at one time.

The other is, that they divide and separate his human nature or his body, making of one body of Christ two bodies and two natures; one, which is in heaven, visible and palpable, having all members and proportions of a most perfect natural man; and another, which they say is in

earth here with us, in every bread and wine that is consecrated, having no distinction, form, nor proportion of members: which contrarieties and diversities, as this holy martyr Vigilius saith, cannot be together in one nature.

CHAP.
VI.

But now seeing that it is so evident a matter, both by the express words of Scripture, and also by all the old authors of the same, that our Saviour Christ, as concerning his bodily presence, is ascended into heaven, and is not here in earth; and seeing that this hath been the true confession of the catholic faith ever since Christ's ascension; it is now to be considered, what moved the papists to make a new and contrary faith, and what Scriptures they have for their purpose. What moved them I know not, but their own iniquity, or the nature and condition of the see of Rome, which is of all other most contrary to Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called the see of Antichrist. And as for Scripture, they alledge none but only one, and that not truly understood; but, to serve their purpose, wrested out of tune, whereby they make it to jar, and sound contrary to all other Scriptures pertaining to that matter.

CHAP.
VII.

An answer to the papists, alleging for them these words, "This is my body."

Christ took bread, say they, blessed and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, *This is my body*. These words they ever still repeat and beat upon, that Christ said, *This is my body*. And this saying they make their shoot-anchor, to prove thereby as well the real and natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as their imagined transubstantiation. For these words of Christ, say they, be most plain and most true. Then forasmuch as he said, *This is my body*, it must needs be true, that that thing which the priest holdeth in his hands is Christ's body. And if it be Christ's body, then can it not be bread; whereof they gather by their reasoning, that there is Christ's body really present, and no bread.

The argument of the papists.

Now forasmuch as all their proof hangeth only upon these words, *This is my body*, the true sense and meaning of these words must be examined. But, say they, what need they any examination? What words can be more plain than to say, *This is my body*?

The answer.

BOOK
III.

The interpretation of these words "This is my body."

Truth it is indeed, that the words be as plain as may be spoken; but that the sense is not so plain, it is manifest to every man that weigheth substantially the circumstances of the place. For when Christ gave bread to his disciples, and said, *This is my body*, there is no man of any discretion, that understandeth the English tongue, but he may well know by the order of the speech, that Christ spake those words of the bread, calling it his body, as all the old authors also do affirm, although some of the papists deny the same. Wherefore this sentence cannot mean as the words seem and purport, but there must needs be some figure or mystery in this speech, more than appeareth in the plain words. For by this manner of speech plainly understand without any figure as the words lie, can be gathered none other sense, but that bread is Christ's body, and that Christ's body is bread, which all Christian ears do abhor to hear. Wherefore in these words must needs be sought out another sense and meaning than the words of themselves do bear^b.

CHAP.
VIII.

Christ called bread his body, and wine his blood.

And although the true sense and understanding of these words be sufficiently declared before, when I spake of transubstantiation; yet to make the matter so plain that no scruple or doubt shall remain, here is occasion given more fully to intreat thereof. In which process shall be showed, that these sentences of Christ, *This is my body*, *This is my blood*, be figurative speeches. And although it be manifest enough by the plain words of the Gospel, and proved before in the process of transubstantiation, that Christ spake of bread when he said, *This is my body*; likewise that it was very wine which he called his blood; yet lest the papists should say that we suck this out of our own fingers, the same shall be proved, by testimony of the old authors, to be the true and old faith of the catholic Church. Whereas the school authors and papists shall not be able to

^b Hilarius, *De Trin.* lib. iv. "Intelligentia dictorum ex causis est assumenda dicendi: quia non sermoni res, sed rei est sermo sub-jectus." Et lib. ix. "Dictorum intelligentia, aut ex præpositis aut ex sequentibus est expectanda." EMBD.

show so much as one word of any ancient author to the contrary^c.

First, Irenæus writing against the Valentinians, in his fourth book saith, that "*Christ confessed bread which is a creature, to be his body, and the cup to be his blood.*" And in the same book he writeth thus also: "*The bread, wherein the thanks be given, is the body of the Lord.*" And yet again in the same book^d he saith, that "Christ taking bread of the same sort that our bread is of, confessed that it was his body." And that "*that thing which was tempered in the chalice was his blood.*"

And in the fifth book^e he writeth further, that "*of the chalice, which is his blood, a man is nourished, and doth grow by the bread, which is his body*"^f.

^c Ac primum Clemens in *Pædagogo*, lib. i. cap. 6. "Dominus dixit: *Comedite carnes meas, et bibite sanguinem meum*, evidenter fidei et promissionis quod est esculentum et poculentum dicens allegorice, per quæ Ecclesia tanquam homo ex multis constans membris irrigatur et augetur."

Justin. in *Apol.* ii. "Hoc alimentum apud nos Eucharistia dicitur, cujus participem esse nemini licet, nisi qui crediderit vera esse, quæ a nobis docentur, et lavacro regenerationis in remissione peccatorum lotus fuerit, et ad eum modum, quem Christus tradidit, vitam instituerit. Non enim ut communem panem aut communem potum, hæc accipimus, sed quemadmodum Jesus Christus Servator noster, per verbum Dei factus caro, et carnem et sanguinem nostræ salutis causa habuit, sic etiam cibum illum, postquam per precationem verbi illius fuerit benedictus, ex quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per mutationem nutriuntur, edocti sumus esse carnem et sanguinem illius Jesu qui pro nobis fuerit incarnatus. Apostoli enim in commentariis ab eis factis (quæ dicuntur Evangelia) sic tradiderunt, præcepisse illis Jesum, cum accepisset panem, gratias agentem dixisse: *Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, Hoc est corpus meum, Hic est sanguis meus*, et solis ipsis impartisse."

Deinde Irenæus, *Contra Valent.* lib. iv. cap. 32. "Christus suis discipulis datus consilium, primitias Deo offerre de suis creaturis, (non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint) eum qui ex creatura panis est accepit, et gratias egit, dicens: *Hoc est corpus meum*. Et calicem similiter, qui est ex ea creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem." Et cap. 34: "Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, qui est a terra, percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cælesti." EMBD.

^d Irenæus, *Contra Valent.* lib. iv. cap. 57.

^e Lib. v. cap. 2.

^f Et *ibidem*: "Quando mixtus calix, et fractus panis, percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia corporis et sanguinis Christi ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia." EMBD.

BOOK
III.

These words of Irenæus be most plain, that Christ taking very material bread, a creature of God, and of such sort as other bread is which we do use, called that his body, when he said, *This is my body*. And the wine also which doth feed and nourish us, he called his blood.

Tertullian likewise, in his book written against the Jews^k, saith, that "*Christ called bread his body*." And in his book against Marcion, he oftentimes repeateth the selfsame words.

And St. Cyprian in the first book of his Epistles^l, saith the same thing, that "*Christ called such bread as is made of many corns joined together, his body: and such wine he named his blood, as is pressed out of many grapes, and made into wine*."

And in his second book^m, he saith these words, "*Water is not the blood of Christ, but wine*." And again, in the same Epistle, he saith, that "*it was wine which Christ called his blood;*" and that "*if wine be not in the chalice, then we drink not of the fruit of the vine*." And in the same Epistle he saith, that "*meal alone, or water alone, is not the body of Christ, except they be both joined together to make thereof bread*."

Epiphanius also saithⁿ, that "Christ, speaking of a loaf which is round in fashion, and cannot see, hear, nor feel, said of it, *This is my body*."

And St. Hierome writing *Ad Hedibiam*, saith these words^o, "Let us mark, that the bread which the Lord brake and gave to his disciples, was the body of our Saviour Christ, as he said unto them, *Take and eat, this is my body* P."

And St. Augustine also saith^q, that "although we may set forth Christ by mouth, by writing, and by the sacra-

^k Tertullianus, *Adversus Judeos*.

^l Cyprianus, *Ad Magnum*, lib. i. Epist. 6.

^m Cyprianus, *Ad Cecilium*, lib. ii. Epist. 3.

ⁿ Epiphan. in *Ancorato*.

^o Hieron. *Ad Hedibiam*.

^p "Et calicem illum esse de quo item locutus est, *Bibite ex hoc omnes; Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur, &c.* Iste est calix de quo in Propheta legimus, *Calicem salutaris accipiam*; et alibi: *Calix tuus inebrians quam præclarus est*." EMBD.

^q August. *De Trinit.* lib. iii. cap. 4.

“ment of his body and blood, yet we call neither our
 “tongue, nor words, nor ink, letters, nor paper, the body
 “and blood of Christ; but *that we call the body and blood*
“of Christ, which is taken of the fruit of the earth, and con-
“secrated by mystical prayer.” And also he saith^r, “*Jesus*
“called meat his body, and drink his blood”.”

Moreover Cyril upon St. John saith^t, that “Christ
 “gave to his disciples *pieces of bread*, saying, *Take, eat,*
“this is my body.””

Likewise Theodoretus saith^u, “When Christ gave the
 “holy mysteries, *he called bread his body, and the cup*
“mixt with wine and water he called his blood”.”

By all these foresaid authors and places, with many mo,
 it is plainly proved, that when our Saviour Christ gave
 bread unto his disciples, saying, *Take and eat, this is my*
body; and likewise when he gave them the cup, saying,
Divide this among you, and drink you all of this, for this
is my blood; he called then the very material bread his
 body, and the very wine his blood.

That bread, I say, that is one of the creatures here in
 earth among us, and that groweth out of the earth, and is
 made of many grains of corn beaten into flour, and mixt
 with water, and so baken and made into bread, of such sort
 as other our bread is, that hath neither sense nor reason,
 and finally, that feedeth and nourisheth our bodies; such
 bread Christ called his body, when he said, *This is my*
body; and such wine as is made of grapes pressed toge-
 ther and thereof is made drink which nourisheth the body,
 such wine he called his blood.

This is the true doctrine, confirmed as well by holy
 Scripture, as by all ancient authors of Christ's Church, both

^r *De Verbis Apostoli*, Serm. 2.

^s Idem, *De Trin.* lib. xii. cap. 58. “*Fractum panem distribuebat di-*
cens: Hoc est corpus meum.” EMBD.

^t Cyrillus, *In Joannem*. lib. iv. cap. 14.

^u Theodoretus in *Dialogo*. 1.

^x Rabanus, lib. i. cap. 31. “*Quia panis corporalis cor confirmat,*
“ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem,
“quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur.”
 EMBD.

BOOK
III.

Greeks and Latins, that is to say, that when our Saviour Christ gave bread and wine to his disciples, and spake these words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, it was very bread and wine which he called his body and blood.

Now let the papists show some authority for their opinion, either of Scripture, or of some ancient author. And let them not constrain all men to follow their fond devices, only because they say it is so, without any other ground or authority but their own bare words. For in such wise credit is to be given to God's word only, and not to the word of any man.

As many of them as I have read (the Bishop of Winchester only excepted) do say, that Christ called not the bread his body, nor wine his blood, when he said, *This is my body, This is my blood*. And yet in expounding these words they vary among themselves; which is a token that they be uncertain of their own doctrine.

For some of them say, that by this pronoun demonstrative, "*this*," Christ understood not the bread nor wine, but his body and blood.

And other some say, that by the pronoun, "*this*," he meant neither the bread nor wine, nor his body nor blood, but that he meant a particular thing uncertain, which they call *individuum vagum*, or *individuum in genere*, I trow some mathematical quiddity, they cannot tell what.

But let all these papists together show any one authority, either of Scripture, or of ancient author, either Greek or Latin, that saith as they say, that Christ called not bread and wine his body and blood, but *individuum vagum*; and for my part I shall give them place, and confess that they say true.

And if they can show nothing for them of antiquity, but only their own bare words, then it is reason that they give place to the truth confirmed by so many authorities, both of Scripture and of ancient writers, which is, that Christ called very material bread his body, and very wine made of grapes his blood.

CHAP.
IX.

Now this being fully proved, it must needs follow con-

sequently, that this manner of speaking is a figurative speech : for in plain and proper speech it is not true to say, that bread is Christ's body, or wine his blood. For Christ's body hath a soul, life, sense, and reason : but bread hath neither soul, life, sense, nor reason.

CHAP.
IX.

"Bread is
my body,"
"Wine is
my blood,"
be figur-
ative
speeches.

Likewise in plain speech it is not true, that we eat Christ's body, and drink his blood. For eating and drinking, in their proper and usual signification, is with the tongue, teeth, and lips to swallow, divide, and chaw in pieces : which thing to do to the flesh and blood of Christ, is horrible to be heard of any Christian.

So that these speeches, "To eat Christ's body, and drink his blood," "To call bread his body, or wine his blood," be speeches not taken in the proper signification of every word, but by translation of these words, "*eating*" and "*drinking*," from the signification of a corporal thing to signify a spiritual thing ; and by calling a thing that signifieth, by the name of the thing which is signified thereby : which is no rare nor strange thing, but an usual manner and phrase in common speech. And yet lest this fault should be imputed unto us, that we do feign things of our own heads without authority, (as the papists be accustomed to do,) here shall be cited sufficient authority, as well of Scripture as of old ancient authors, to approve the same.

CHAP.
X.

"To eat
Christ's
flesh, and
drink his
blood," be
figurative
speeches.

First, when our Saviour Christ, in the sixth of John, said, *That he was the bread of life, the which whosoever did eat, should not die, but live for ever ; and that the bread which he would give us was his flesh ; and, therefore, whosoever should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, should have everlasting life ; and they that should not eat his flesh and drink his blood, should not have everlasting life :* when Christ had spoken these words with many mo of the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood, both the Jews, and many also of his disciples, were offended with his words, and said, *This is an hard saying : for how can he give us his flesh to be eaten ?* Christ perceiving their murmuring hearts, (because they knew none other eating of his flesh, but by chawing and swallowing,) to declare that they

John vi.

BOOK
III.

should not eat his body after that sort, nor that he meant of any such carnal eating, he said thus unto them, *What if you see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? It is the spirit that giveth life, the flesh availeth nothing. The words which I spake unto you, be spirit and life.*

1 Cor. x.

These words our Saviour Christ spake, to lift up their minds from earth to heaven, and from carnal to spiritual eating, that they should not phantasy that they should with their teeth eat him present here in earth, for his flesh so eaten, saith he, should nothing profit them. And yet so they should not eat him, for he would take his body away from them, and ascend with it into heaven; and there by faith and not with teeth, they should spiritually eat him, sitting at the right hand of his Father. And therefore saith he, *The words which I do speak be spirit and life*: that is to say, are not to be understand, that we shall eat Christ with our teeth grossly and carnally, but that we shall spiritually and ghostly with our faith eat him, being carnally absent from us in heaven; and in such wise as Abraham and other holy fathers did eat him, many years before he was incarnated and born. As St. Paul saith, that *they all did eat the same spiritual meat that we do, and drank the same spiritual drink, that is to say, Christ*. For they spiritually by their faith were fed and nourished with Christ's body and blood, and had eternal life by him, before he was born, as we have now, that come after his ascension.

Thus have you heard, by the declaration of Christ himself and of St. Paul, that the eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood is not taken in the common signification, with mouth and teeth to eat and chew a thing being present, but by a lively faith in heart and mind to chew and digest a thing being absent, either ascended hence into heaven, or else not yet born upon earth.

And Origen*, declaring the said eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, not to be understand as the words do sound, but figuratively, writeth thus upon these words

* Origen. In Levit. Hom. 7.

of Christ, *Except you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you shall not have life in you*: "Consider," saith Origen, CHAP.
X.
 "that *these things*, written in God's books, are figures;
 "and therefore examine and understand them, as spiritual
 "and not as carnal men. For *if you understand them as*
 "*carnal men, they hurt you, and feed you not.* For even
 "in the Gospels is there found letter that killeth; and not
 "only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, is there
 "found letter that slayeth him that doth not spiritually un-
 "derstand that which is spoken. For *if thou follow the*
 "*letter or words of this that Christ said, Except you eat* John vi.
 "*my flesh and drink my blood, this letter killeth.*"

Who can more plainly express in any words, that the eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood are not to be taken in common signification, as the words pretend and sound, than Origen doth in this place?

And St. John Chrysostome affirmeth the same, saying, y^that "*if any man understand the words of Christ carnally, he shall surely profit nothing thereby.* For what mean these words, *The flesh availeth nothing?* He meant not of his flesh, God forbid, but he meant of them that *fleshly and carnally understood those things that Christ spake.* But what is carnal understanding? *To understand the words simply as they be spoken, and nothing else.* For we ought not so to understand the things which we see, but all mysteries must be considered with *inward eyes, and that is spiritually to understand them.*"

In these words St. John Chrysostome sheweth plainly, that the words of Christ concerning the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood, are not to be understand simply as they be spoken, but spiritually and figuratively.

And yet most plainly of all other, St. Augustine doth declare this matter in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*^z, in which book he instructeth Christian people how they should understand those places of Scripture, which seem hard and obscure.

^y Chrysost. In Joan. Hom. 46.

^z Augustinus, *De Doctrina Christ.* lib. iii. cap. 4 et 5.

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"Seldom," saith he, "is any difficulty in proper words, but either the circumstance of the place, or the conferring of divers translations, or else the original tongue wherein it was written, will make the sense plain. But in words that be altered from their proper signification, there is great diligence and heed to be taken. And *specially we must beware, that we take not literally any thing that is spoken figuratively*^a. Nor contrariwise, we must not take for a figure, any thing that is spoken properly. Therefore must be declared," saith St. Augustine, "the manner *how to discern a proper speech from a figurative*; wherein," saith he, "must be observed this rule, that if the thing which is spoken be to the furtherance of charity, then it is a proper speech, and no figure. So that if it be a commandment that forbiddeth any evil or wicked act, or commandeth any good or beneficial thing, then it is no figure. But *if it command any ill or wicked thing, or forbid any thing that is good and beneficial, then it is a figurative speech*. Now *this saying of Christ*, Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you, *seemeth to command an heinous and a wicked thing; therefore it is a figure*, commanding us to be partakers of Christ's passion, keeping in our minds to our great comfort and profit, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

This is briefly the sentence of St. Augustine, in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*.

And the like he writeth in his book *De Catechizandis Rudibus*^b, and in his book *Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*^c, and in divers other places, which for tedi-

^a "Et ad hoc etiam pertinet quod ait Apostolus: *Litera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat*. Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur, tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur. Neque ulla mors animæ congruentius appellatur, quam cum id etiam, quod in ea bestiis antecellit (hoc est intelligentia) carni subjicitur sequendo literam. Qui enim sequitur literam, translata verba sicut propria tenet," &c. Et mox: "Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere, et supra creaturam corpoream oculum mentis ad hauriendum æternum lumen levare non posse." August. *De Doctr. Christ.* lib. iii. cap. 5. EMBD.

^b *De Catech. Rudib.* cap. 26.

^c *Contra Advers. Legis et Prophet.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

ousness I pass over. For if I should rehearse all the authorities of St. Augustine and other which make mention of this matter, it would weary the reader too much^d.

Wherefore to all them that by any reasonable means will be satisfied, these things before rehearsed are sufficient to prove, that the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, is not to be understand simply and plainly, as the words do properly signify, that we do eat and drink him with our mouths; but it is a figurative speech spiritually to be understand, that we must deeply print and fruitfully be-

^d Aug. de *Catechizandis Rudibus*, cap. 26. "De Sacramento quod accepit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari; nec sic habendam esse speciem illam benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet: dicendum etiam quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo condatur, cujus illa res similitudinem gerit. Deinde monendus est [Catechizandus] ut si quid in Scripturis audiat, quod carnaliter sonat, etiamsi non intelligit, credat tamen spirituale aliquid significari, quod ad sanctos mores futuramque vitam pertineat. Hoc autem breviter discet, ut quicquid audierit ex libris canonicis, quod ad dilectionem æternitatis et veritatis et sanctitatis, et ad dilectionem proximi referre non possit, figurate dictum vel gestum esse credat, atque ita conetur intelligere ut ad illam geminam referat dilectionem."

Idem, *Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*, lib. ii. cap. 9. "Mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum carnem suam nobis manducandam, bibendamque sanguinem dantem, fidei corde atque ore suscipimus, quamvis horribilius videatur humanam carnem manducare quam perimere, et humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere. Atqui in omnibus sanctis Scripturis secundum sanæ fidei regulam, figuratè dictum vel factum si quid exponitur, de quibuslibet rebus vel verbis, quæ sacris paginis continentur, expositio illa ducatur, non aspernanter sed sapienter audiamus."

Justinus in 2. *Apol. ad Gentes*. "Deinde profertur illi qui fratribus præest, panis et poculum aqua et vino mixtum, quæ cum is acceperit, laudem et gloriam ei qui Pater est omnium per nomen Filii et Spiritus Sancti destinat, et gratiarum actionem, quod ab illo dignus his sit habitus, prolixè facit. Quibus rite peractis precibus cum gratiarum actione, populus omnis qui adest benedicit, dicens, Amen. Illud autem, Amen, Hebraica lingua significat, Fiat. Cum autem is qui præest gratias egerit, et totus populus benedixerit, hi qui apud nos vocantur Diaconi, distribuunt unicuique præsentium ut participant de pane, in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, et de vino et aqua, et his qui non sunt præsentem deferunt. Atque hoc alimentum vocatur apud nos Eucharistia," &c. ut supra cap. 8.

Bonaventura, lib. iv. dist. 9. "Manducatio primò et proprie in corporalibus invenitur, et ab illis ad spiritualia est translata. Et ideo si volumus accipere rectam illam manducationem spirituales, necesse habemus a propria acceptione vocabuli nos transferre." EMBD.

BOOK lieve in our hearts, that his flesh was crucified and his
III. blood shed, for our redemption. And this our belief in him, is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, although they be not present here with us, but be ascended into heaven. As our forefathers, before Christ's time, did likewise eat his flesh and drink his blood, which was so far from them, that he was not yet then born.

CHAP. The same authors did say also, that when Christ called
XI. the bread his body and the wine his blood, it was no proper speech that he then used; but as all sacraments be figures of other things, and yet have the very names of the things which they do signify: so Christ, instituting the sacrament of his most precious body and blood, did use figurative speeches, calling the bread by the name of his body, because it signified his body; and the wine he called his blood, because it represented his blood.

"This is my body,"
 "This is my blood," be
 figurative
 speeches.

The bread
 represent-
 eth Christ's
 body, and
 the wine his
 blood.

Tertullian^e, herein writing against Marcion, saith these words: "Christ did not reprove *bread, whereby he did re-present his very body.*" And in the same book he saith, that "Jesus taking bread, and distributing it amongst his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body; *that is to say,*" saith Tertullian, "*a figure of my body.*" "And therefore," saith Tertullian, "*Christ called bread his body and wine his blood,* because that in the Old Testament bread and wine were figures of his body and blood."

And St. Cyprian, the holy martyr^f, saith of this matter, that "Christ's blood *is showed* in the wine, and the people "in the water that is mixt with the wine: so that *the mixture of the water to the wine signifieth the spiritual communion and joining of us unto Christ.*"

By which similitude Cyprian meant not that the blood of Christ is wine, or the people water; but as the water doth signify and represent the people, so doth the wine signify and represent Christ's blood: and the uniting of the water and wine together signifieth the uniting of Christian people unto Christ himself.

^e Tertullianus *Contra Marcionem* lib. i. ^f Cyprianus, lib. ii. Epist. 3.

And the same St. Cyprian in another place, writing hereof, saith, that "Christ, in his last supper, *gave to his apostles with his own hands bread and wine, which he called his flesh and blood*; but in the cross he gave his very body to be wounded with the hands of the soldiers, that the Apostles might declare to the world how and in what manner bread and wine may be the flesh and blood of Christ." And the manner he straightways declareth thus: that "those things which do signify, and those things which be signified by them, may be both called by one name."

Here it is certain by St. Cyprian's mind, wherefore and in what wise bread is called Christ's flesh, and wine his blood; that is to say, because that every thing that representeth and signifieth another thing, may be called by the name of the thing which it signifieth.

And therefore St. John Chrysostome saith^b, that "Christ ordained the table of his holy supper for this purpose, that in that sacrament he should daily show unto us *bread and wine for a similitude of his body and blood*."

St. Hierome likewise saithⁱ, upon the Gospel of Matthew, that "Christ took bread which comforteth man's heart, that he might *represent* thereby his very body and blood^k."

Also St. Ambrose^l (if the book be his that is entitled *De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur*^m) saith, that "before the consecration another kind is named; but after the consecration the body of Christ *is signified*. Christ said his blood; before the consecration it is called another thing; but, after the consecration, *is signified* the blood of Christ."

And in his book *De Sacramentis*ⁿ, (if that be also his,)

^z *De Unctione Chrismatis*. [A spurious work.]

^b Chrysost. *In Psal.* xxii.

ⁱ Hieronym. *In Matt.* xxvi.

^k "Postquam typicum Pascha fuerat impletum, et agni carnes cum Apostolis comederat, assumit panem qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum Paschæ transgreditur sacramentum, ut quo modo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedek summi Dei sacerdos offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret." EMBD.

^l Ambros. *De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur*, cap. ult.

^m [See note, p. 326.]

ⁿ *De Sacramentis*, lib. vi. cap. 1.

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he writeth thus: "Thou dost receive the sacrament for
 " *a similitude* of the flesh and blood of Christ; but thou
 " dost obtain the grace and virtue of his true nature; and,
 " receiving the bread, in that food thou art partaker of his
 " godly substance." And in the same book^o he saith, "As
 " thou hast in baptism received *the similitude* of death, so
 " likewise dost thou in this sacrament drink *the similitude*
 " *of Christ's precious blood* P." And again he saith in the
 said book^q, "The priest saith, Make unto us this oblation to
 " be acceptable, which is *the figure of the body and blood of*
 " *our Lord Jesu Christ.*"

1 Cor. xi.

And upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, he
 saith, that "in eating and drinking the bread and wine,
 " we do *signify* the flesh and blood which were offered for
 " us. And the Old Testament," he saith, "was instituted
 " in blood, because that blood was a witness of God's be-
 " nefit; *in signification and figure whereof, we take the*
 " *mystical cup of his blood*, to the tuition of our body and
 " soul."

Of these places of St. Chrysostome, St. Hierome, and
 St. Ambrose, it is clear, that in the sacramental bread and
 wine, is not really and corporally the very natural substance
 of the flesh and blood of Christ, but that the bread and

Signs and
 figures have
 the names
 of the things
 which they
 signify.

wine be similitudes, mysteries, and representations, signifi-
 cations, sacraments, figures and signs of his body and blood;
 and therefore be called and have the name of his very flesh
 and blood.

And yet St. Augustine sheweth this matter more clearly
 and fully than any of the rest, specially in an epistle which
 he wrote *Ad Bonifacium*^r, where he saith, that "a day or
 " two before Good Friday, we use in common speech to
 " say thus: To-morrow, or this day two days, Christ suf-
 " fered his passion: where in very deed he never suffered
 " his passion but once, and that was many years passed.

^o *De Sacramentis*, lib. iv. cap. 4.

^p "Ut nullus horror cruoris sit; et pretium tamen operetur redemptionis." F.M.B.D.

^q *De Sacramentis*, lib. iv. cap. 5.

^r August. *Ad Bonifacium*, Epist. 23.

“ Likewise upon Easter-day we say, This day Christ rose
 “ from death, where in very deed it is many hundred years
 “ sithence he rose from death. Why then do not men reprove
 “ us as liars, when we speak in this sort, but because we
 “ call these days so, by a similitude of those days wherein
 “ these things were done in deed ? And so it is called that
 “ day, which is not that day in deed, but by the course of
 “ the year it is a like day, and such things be said to be done
 “ that day, for the solemn celebration of the sacrament,
 “ which things in deed were not done that day, but long
 “ before. Was Christ offered any more but once ? And he
 “ offered himself, and yet in a sacrament or representation,
 “ not only every solemn feast of Easter, but every day, he
 “ is offered to the people ; so that he doth not lie that saith,
 “ He is every day offered. For if sacraments had not some
 “ similitude or likeness of those things whereof they be sa-
 “ craments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And for
 “ their similitude and likeness, commonly they have the
 “ name of the things whereof they be sacraments. There-
 “ fore, as *after a certain manner of speech, the sacrament*
 “ *of Christ's body is Christ's body, the sacrament of*
 “ *Christ's blood is Christ's blood* : so likewise the sacrament
 “ of faith is faith. And to believe is nothing else but to
 “ have faith : and therefore, when we answer for young
 “ children in their baptism, that they believe which have
 “ not yet the mind to believe, we answer that they have
 “ faith, because they have the sacrament of faith. And we
 “ say also, that they turn unto God, because of the sacra-
 “ ment of conversion unto God ; for that answer pertain-
 “ eth to the celebration of the sacrament. And likewise
 “ speaketh the Apostle of baptism, saying, that *by bap-* Rom. vi.
 “ *tism we be buried with him into death : he saith not,*
 “ *that 'we signify burial ;' but he saith plainly, that 'we be*
 “ *buried.'* So that the sacrament of so great a thing is not
 “ called but by the name of the thing itself.”

Hitherto I have rehearsed the answer of St. Augustine
 unto Boniface, a learned bishop, who asked of him, how the
 parents and friends could answer for a young babe in bap-

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tism, and say in his person, that he believeth and converteth unto God, when the child can neither do nor think any such thing.

Whereunto the answer of St. Augustine is this : that forasmuch as baptism is the sacrament of the profession of our faith, and of our conversion unto God, it becometh us so to answer for young children coming thereunto, as to that sacrament appertaineth, although the children indeed have no knowledge of such things.

And yet in our said answers we ought not to be reprehended as vain men or liars ; forasmuch as in common speech we use daily to call sacraments and figures by the names of the things that be signified by them, although they be not the same thing indeed. As every Good Friday, as often as it returneth from year to year, we call it the day of Christ's passion ; and every Easter-day we call the day of his resurrection ; and every day in the year we say that Christ is offered, and the sacrament of his body, we call it his body, and the sacrament of his blood, we call it his blood ; and our baptism St. Paul calleth our burial with Christ. And yet in very deed Christ never suffered but once, never arose but once, never was offered but once ; nor in very deed in baptism we be not buried, nor the sacrament of Christ's body is not his body, nor the sacrament of his blood is not his blood. But so they be called, because they be figures, sacraments, and representations of the things themselves which they signify, and whereof they bear the names.

Thus doth St. Augustine most plainly open this matter in his Epistle to Bonifacius.

Of this manner of speech, (wherein a sign is called by the name of the thing which it signifieth,) speaketh St. Augustine also right largely in his questions *Super Leviticum*, and *Contra Adamantium*, declaring how blood in Scripture is called the soul. "*A thing which signifieth,*" saith he^s, "*is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it signifieth,* as it is written in the Scripture: *The seven ears*

Gen. xli.

^s *Super Lev. quest. 57.*

“ *be seven years*, the Scripture saith not signifieth seven CHAP.
 “ years; and *seven kine be seven years*, and many other XI.
 “ like. And so said Paul, that *the stone was Christ*, and 1 Cor. x.
 “ not that it signified Christ; but even as it had been he in
 “ deed, which nevertheless *was not Christ by substance, but*
 “ *by signification*. Even so,” saith St. Augustine, “ be-
 “ cause the blood signifieth and representeth the soul,
 “ therefore in a sacrament or signification it is called the
 “ soul.”

And *Contra Adamantium*^t, he writeth much like, say-
 ing, “ In such wise is blood the soul, as *the stone was*
 “ *Christ*; and yet *the Apostle saith not, that the stone sig-*
 “ *nified Christ, but saith it was Christ*. And this sen-
 “ tence, *blood is the soul*, may be understand to be spoken
 “ in a sign or figure. For *Christ did not stick to say*, This
 “ is my body, *when he gave the sign of his body*.”

Here St. Augustine rehearsing divers sentences which
 were spoken figuratively, that is to say, when one thing was
 called by the name of another, and yet was not the other in
 substance, but in signification; as, The blood is the soul,
 Seven kine be seven years, Seven ears be seven years, The
 stone was Christ; among such manner of speeches, he re-
 hearseth those words which Christ spake at his last supper,
This is my body: which declareth plainly St. Augustine’s Matt. xxvi.
 mind that Christ spake those words figuratively, not mean-
 ing that the bread was his body by substance, but by signi-
 fication.

And therefore St. Augustine saith, *Contra Maximinum*^u,
 that “ in sacraments we must not consider what they be,
 “ but what they signify. For they be signs of things,
 “ being one thing, and signifying another.” Which he doth
 show specially of this sacrament, saying, “ *The heavenly*
 “ *bread, which is Christ’s flesh, by some manner of speech*
 “ *is called Christ’s body, when in very deed it is the sacra-*
 “ *ment of his body*. And that offering of the flesh, which
 “ is done by the priest’s hands, is called Christ’s passion,

^t *Contra Adamantium*, cap. 12.

^u *Contra Maximinum*, lib. iii. cap. 22.

BOOK "death, and crucifying, not in very deed, but in a mystical
III. "signification^x."

And to this purpose it is both pleasant, comfortable, and profitable, to read Theodoretus in his Dialogues^y, where he disputeth and showeth at length, how the names of things be changed in Scripture, and yet the things remain still. And for example he proveth, that the flesh of Christ is in the Scripture sometime called a veil of covering, sometime a cloth, sometimes a vestment, and sometime a stole: and the blood of the grape is called Christ's blood, and the names of bread and wine, and of his flesh and blood, Christ doth so change, that sometime he calleth his body corn or bread; and sometime contrary, he calleth bread his body. And likewise his blood sometime he calleth wine, and sometime contrary, he calleth wine his blood.

For the more plain understanding whereof, it shall not be amiss to recite his own sayings in his foresaid Dialogues, touching this matter of the holy sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood. The speakers in these Dialogues be *Orthodoxus* the right believer, and *Eranistes* his companion, but not understanding the right faith.

Orthodoxus saith to his companion^z, "Dost thou not know that God calleth bread his flesh?"

"*Eranistes*. I know that.

"*Orthodoxus*. And in another place he calleth his body corn?"

"*Eran*. I know that also; for I have heard him say,

John xii. "The hour is come that the Son of man shall be glorified; and, Except the grain of corn that fulleth in the ground

^x In Lib. Sententiarum Prosperi. De Consecr. dist. 2. "Hoc est."
[See p. 328. note.]

Gloss. ibidem. "Cœlestis panis, id est, cœleste sacramentum, quod vere representat Christi carnem, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie: unde dicitur suo modo, sed non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio. Ut sit sensus, vocatur Christi corpus, id est, significatur."

Aug. in Psalm. 3. "Dominus Judam adhibuit in convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit."

Idem, Contra Faustum, lib. xx. cap. 21. "Nostri sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur." EMBD.

^y Theodoret. in Dialogis.

^z In the first Dialogue.

“ die, it remaineth sole ; but if it die, then it bringeth forth much fruit. CHAP. XI.

“ Orth. When he gave the mysteries or sacraments, *he called bread his body ; and that which was mixt in the cup, he called blood.* Matt. xxvi.
Mark xiv.
Luke xxii.

“ Eran. So he called them.

“ Orth. But that also which was his natural body, may well be called his body ; and his very blood also, may be called his blood.

“ Eran. It is plain.

“ Orth. But our Saviour without doubt changed the names, and gave to the body the name of the sign or token, and to the token he gave the name of the body. And so when he called himself a vine, he called blood that which was the token of blood. John xv.

“ Eran. Surely thou hast spoken the truth ; but I would know the cause wherefore the names were changed.

“ Orth. The cause is manifest to them that be expert in true religion. For he would that they which be partakers of the godly sacraments, should not set their minds upon the nature of the things which they see, but by the changing of the names, should believe the things which be wrought in them by grace. For he that called that which is his natural body corn and bread, and also called himself a vine, he did honour the visible tokens and signs with the names of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature. John xii.
Matt. xxvi.
John xv.

“ Eran. Sacraments be spoken of sacramentally, and also by them be manifestly declared things which all men know not.

“ Orth. Seeing then that it is certain that the Patriarch called the Lord's body a vestment and apparel, and that now we be entered to speak of godly sacraments, tell me truly of what thing thinkest thou this holy meat to be a token and figure ? Of Christ's Divinity, or of his body and blood ? Gen. xlv.

“ Eran. It is clear that it is the figure of those things whereof it beareth the name.

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III.

John vi.

“ *Orth.* Meanest thou of his body and blood ?

“ *Eran.* Even so I mean.

“ *Orth.* Thou hast spoken as one that loveth the truth ;
“ for the Lord, *when he took the token or sign, he said not,*
“ *This is my Divinity, but, This is my body, and, This is*
“ *my blood.* And in another place, *The bread which I*
“ *will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the*
“ *world.*

“ *Eran.* These things be true, for they be God’s
“ words^z.”

All this writeth Theodoretus in his first Dialogue.

And in the second he writeth the same in effect, and yet in some things more plainly, against such heretics as affirmed, that after Christ’s resurrection and ascension his humanity was changed from the very nature of a man, and turned into his divinity. Against whom thus he writeth.

“ *Orth.* Corruption, health, sickness, and death, be accidents ; for they go and come.

“ *Eran.* It is meet they be so called.

“ *Orth.* Men’s bodies after their resurrection be delivered
“ from corruption, death, and mortality, and yet they lose
“ not their proper nature.

“ *Eran.* Truth it is.

Christ’s
body glorified
hath
his form,
bigness,
and quantity.

“ *Orth.* *The body of Christ* therefore did rise quite clean
“ from all corruption and death, and is impassible, immortal, *glorified* with the glory of God, and is honoured of
“ the powers of heaven ; and yet *it is a body, and hath the*
“ *same bigness that it had before.*

“ *Eran.* Thy sayings seem true, and according to reason ;
“ but after he was ascended up into heaven, I think thou
“ wilt not say, that his body was not turned into the nature
“ of the Godhead.

“ *Orth.* I would not so say for the persuasion of man’s
“ reason ; nor *I am not so arrogant and presumptuous to*
“ *affirm any thing which Scripture passeth over in silence ;*

^z “ *Ortho.* Porro si sunt vera, corpus utique habebat Dominus.

“ *Eran.* Et ego incorporeum illum esse dico.

“ *Ortho.* Sed fateris illum habuisse corpus.” EMBD.

“but I have heard St. Paul cry, that *God hath ordained* CHAP.
 “*a day, when he will judge all the world in justice by that* XI.
 “*man which he appointed before, performing his promise* Acts xvii.
 “*to all men, and raising him from death.* I have learned
 “also of the holy angels, that he will come after that Acts i.
 “fashion, as his disciples saw him go to heaven. *But they*
 “*saw a nature of a certain bigness, not a nature which*
 “*had no bigness.* I heard furthermore the Lord say, *You* Matt. xxiv.
 “*shall see the Son of man come in the clouds of heaven.*
 “And I know that every thing that men see hath a cer-
 “tain bigness. *For that nature that hath no bigness can-*
 “*not be seen.* Moreover to sit in the throne of glory, and
 “to set the lambs upon his *right hand*, and the goats upon
 “his *left hand*, signifieth a thing that hath quantity and
 “bigness.”

Hitherto have I rehearsed Theodoretus' words, and shortly after *Eranistes* saith :

“*Eran.* We must turn every stone, (as the proverb
 “saith,) to seek out the truth, but specially when godly
 “matters be propounded.

“*Orth.* Tell me then, *the sacramental signs*, which be
 “offered to God by his priests, *whereof be they signs*,
 “sayest thou ?

“*Eran.* Of the Lord's body and blood.

“*Orth.* Of a very body, or not of a very body ?

“*Eran.* Of a very body. }

“*Orth.* Very well, for an image must be made after a
 “true pattern ; for painters follow nature, and paint the
 “images of such things as we see with our eyes.

“*Eran.* Truth it is.

“*Orth.* If therefore the godly sacraments *represent* a
 “true body, then is the Lord's body yet still a body, not
 “converted into the nature of his Godhead, but replenished
 “with God's glory.

“*Eran.* It cometh in good time that thou makest men-
 “tion of God's sacraments ; for by the same I shall prove,
 “that Christ's body is turned into another nature. An-
 “swer, therefore, unto my questions.

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“ *Orth.* I shall answer.

“ *Eran.* What callest thou that which is offered, *before the invocation of the priest?*

“ *Orth.* We must not speak plainly, for it is like that some be present which have not professed Christ.

“ *Eran.* Answer covertly.

“ *Orth.* *It is a nourishment made of seeds that be like.*

“ *Eran.* Then how call we the other sign?

“ *Orth.* It is also a common name, that signifieth *a kind of drink.*

“ *Eran.* But how dost thou call them after the sanctification?

“ *Orth.* *The body of Christ, and the blood of Christ.*

“ *Eran.* And dost thou believe that thou art made partaker of Christ's body and blood?

“ *Orth.* I believe so.

“ *Eran.* Therefore as the tokens of God's body and blood be other things before the priest's invocation, but *after the invocation they be changed*, and be other things: *so also the body of Christ, after his assumption, is changed into his divine substance.*

“ *Orth.* Thou art taken with thine own net. For the sacramental signs go not from their own nature after the sanctification, but continue in their former substance, form, and figure, and may be seen and touched as well as before; yet in our minds we do consider what they be made, and do repute and esteem them, and have them in reverence, according to the same things that they be taken for. Therefore compare the images to the pattern, and thou shalt see them like. For a figure must be like to the thing itself. For *Christ's body hath his former fashion, figure, and bigness*; and, to speak at one word, the same substance of his body. But after his resurrection, it was made immortal, and of such power, that no corruption nor death could come unto it; and it was exalted to that dignity, that it was set at the right hand of the Father, and honoured of all creatures, as the body of him that is the Lord of nature.

Eran. But the sacramental token changeth his former name; for it is no more called as it was before, but is called Christ's body. Therefore must his body, after his ascension, be called God, and not a body.

Orth. Thou seemest to me ignorant; for it is not called his body only, but also the bread of life, as the Lord called it. So the body of Christ we call a godly body, a body that giveth life, God's body, the Lord's body, our Master's body, meaning that it is not a common body, as other men's bodies be, but that it is the body of our Lord Jesu Christ, both God and man^a."

This have I rehearsed of the great clerk and holy bishop Theodoretus, whom some of the papists perceiving to make so plainly against them have defamed, saying that he was infected with the error of Nestorius.

Here the papists show their old accustomed nature and condition, which is, even in a manifest manner, rather to lie without shame, than to give place unto the truth, and confess their own error. And although his adversaries falsely bruited such a fame against him when he was yet alive, nevertheless he was purged thereof by the holy council of Calcedon, about eleven hundred years ago^b.

And furthermore, in his book which he wrote against heresies he specially condemneth Nestorius by name. And also all his three books of his Dialogues, before rehearsed, he wrote chiefly against Nestorius, and was never herein noted of error this thousand year, but hath ever been reputed and taken for an holy bishop, a great learned man, and a grave author, until now at this present time, when the papists have nothing to answer unto him, they begin in excusing of themselves to defame him.

Thus much have I spoken for Theodoretus, which I pray thee be not weary to read, good reader, but often and with delectation, deliberation, and good advertisement to read. For it containeth plainly and briefly the true in-

^a *Jesus enim Christus heri et hodie, ille ipse et in æternum.* EMBD.

^b *Quem Leo primus (Epist. 61.) "charissimum fratrem" appellat.* EMBD.

BOOK III. instruction of a Christian man, concerning the matter which in this book we treat upon.

Five principal things to be noted in Theodoretus.

First, that our Saviour Christ in his last supper, when he gave bread and wine to his Apostles, saying, *This is my body, This is my blood*, it was bread which he called his body, and wine mixed in the cup which he called his blood: so that he changed the names of the bread and wine, which were the mysteries, sacraments, signs, figures, and tokens of Christ's flesh and blood, and called them by the names of the things which they did represent and signify, that is to say, the bread he called by the name of his very flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood.

Second, that although the names of bread and wine were changed after sanctification, yet nevertheless the things themselves remained the self-same that they were before the sanctification, that is to say, the same bread and wine in nature, substance, form, and fashion.

The third, seeing that the substance of the bread and wine be not changed, why be then their names changed, and the bread called Christ's flesh, and the wine his blood? Theodoretus sheweth, that the cause thereof was this, that we should not have so much respect to the bread and wine, which we see with our eyes and taste with our mouths, as we should have to Christ himself, in whom we believe with our hearts, and feel and taste him by our faith, and with whose flesh and blood, by his grace, we believe that we be spiritually fed and nourished.

These things we ought to remember and revolve in our minds, and to lift up our hearts from the bread and wine unto Christ that sitteth above. And because we should so do, therefore after the consecration they be no more called bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ.

The fourth. It is in these sacraments of bread and wine, as it is in the very body of Christ. For as the body of Christ before his resurrection and after, is all one in nature, substance, bigness, form, and fashion, and yet it is not called as another common body, but with addition, for the dignity of his exaltation, it is called a heavenly, a godly, an immor-

tal, and the Lord's body : so likewise the bread and wine, before the consecration and after, is all one in nature, substance, bigness, form, and fashion, and yet it is not called as other common bread, but for the dignity whereunto it is taken, it is called with addition, heavenly bread, the bread of life, and the bread of thanksgiving.

The fifth, that no man ought to be so arrogant and presumptuous to affirm for a certain truth in religion, any thing which is not spoken of in holy Scripture. And this is spoken to the great and utter condemnation of the papists, which make and unmake new articles of our faith from time to time, at their pleasure, without any Scripture at all, yea quite and clean contrary to Scripture. And yet will they have all men bound to believe whatsoever they invent, upon peril of damnation and everlasting fire.

And they would constrain with fire and fagot all men to consent, contrary to the manifest words of God, to these their errors in this matter of the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood.

First, that there remaineth no bread nor wine after the consecration, but that Christ's flesh and blood is made of them.

Second, that Christ's body is really, corporally, substantially, sensibly, and naturally in the bread and wine.

Thirdly, that wicked persons do eat and drink Christ's very body and blood.

Fourthly, that priests offer Christ every day, and make of him a new sacrifice propitiatory for sin.

Thus, for shortness of time, I do make an end of Theodoretus, with other old ancient writers, which do most clearly affirm, that "to eat Christ's body," and "to drink his blood," be figurative speeches. And so be these sentences likewise, which Christ spake at his supper, *This is my body, This is my blood.*

And marvel not, good reader, that Christ at that time spake in figures, when he did institute that sacrament, seeing CHAP.
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 that it is the nature of all sacraments to be figures. And Figurative
speeches be
not strange. although the Scripture be full of schemes, tropes, and

BOOK figures, yet specially it useth them when it speaketh of sa-
III. craments.

When the ark, which represented God's majesty, was come into the army of the Israelites, the Philistians said, 1 Sam. iv. that *God was come into the army*. And God himself said 2 Sam. vii. by his prophet Nathan, that *from the time that he had brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, he dwelled not in houses, but that he was carried about in tents and tabernacles*. And yet was not God himself so carried about, or went in tents or tabernacles, but because the ark, which was a figure of God, was so removed from place to place, he spake of himself that thing, which was to be understand of the ark.

Christ him- And Christ himself oftentimes spake in similitudes, pa-
 self used rables, and figures, as when he said, *The field is the world,*
 figurative the enemy is the Devil, the seed is the word of God.—*John is*
 speeches. *Elias*.—*I am a vine, and you be the branches*.—*I am bread*
 Matt. xiii. *of life*.—*My father is an husbandman, and he hath his*
 Matt. xi. *fan in his hand, and will make clean his floor, and gather*
 and xvii. *the wheat into his barn; but the chaff he will cast into*
 John xv. *everlasting fire*.—*I have a meat to eat which you know*
 John vi. *not*.—*Work not meat that perisheth, but that endureth*
 Matth. iii. *unto everlasting life*.—*I am a good shepherd*.—*The Son*
 John iv. *of man will set the sheep at his right hand, and the goats*
 John vi. *at his left hand*.—*I am a door*.—*One of you is the Devil*.
 John x. *Whosoever doeth my Father's will, he is my brother, sister,*
 Matt. xxv. *and mother*. And when he said to his mother and John,
 John x. *This is thy son, this is thy mother*.

These, with an infinite number of like sentences, Christ spake in parables, metaphors, tropes, and figures. But chiefly when he spake of the sacraments, he used figurative speeches.

Acts i. As when of baptism he said, that *we must be baptized with the Holy Ghost*: meaning of spiritual baptism. And like speech used St. John the Baptist, saying of Christ, Matt. iii. that *he should baptize with the Holy Ghost and fire*. And John iii. Christ said, that *we must be born again, or else we cannot*
 John iv. *see the kingdom of God*. And said also, *Whosoever shall*

drink of that water which I shall give him, he shall never be dry again. But the water which I shall give him, shall be made within him a well, which shall spring into everlasting life. CHAP.
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And St. Paul saith, that *in baptism we clothe us with Christ, and be buried with him.* This baptism and washing by the fire and the Holy Ghost, this new birth, this water that springeth in a man and floweth into everlasting life, cannot be understand of any material baptism, material washing, material birth, clothing, and burial, but by translation of things visible into things invisible, they must be understand spiritually and figuratively. Rom. vi.
Gal. iii.

After the same sort the mystery of our redemption, and the passion of our Saviour Christ upon the cross, as well in the New as the Old Testament, is expressed and declared by many figures and figurative speeches.

As the pure Paschal lamb without spot, signified Christ. The Paschal lamb. The effusion of the lamb's blood signified the effusion of Christ's blood. And the salvation of the children of Israel from temporal death by the lamb's blood, signified our salvation from eternal death by Christ's blood. And as Almighty God, passing through Egypt, killed all the Egyptians' heirs in every house, and left not one alive; and nevertheless he passed by the children of Israel's houses, where he saw the lamb's blood upon the doors, and hurted none of them, but saved them all by the means of the lamb's blood: so likewise at the last judgment of the whole world, none shall be passed over and saved, but that shall be found marked with the blood of the most pure and immaculate Lamb Jesus Christ.

And forasmuch as the shedding of that lamb's blood, was a token and figure of the shedding of Christ's blood then to come; and forasmuch also as all the sacraments and figures of the Old Testament ceased and had an end in Christ: lest by our great unkindness we should peradventure be forgetful of the great benefit of Christ, therefore at his last supper, when he took his leave of his Apostles to depart out of the world, he did make a new will and testa- The Lord's
Supper.

BOOK III. ment, wherein he bequeathed unto us clean remission of all our sins, and the everlasting inheritance of heaven. And the same he confirmed the next day with his own blood and death.

And lest we should forget the same, he ordained not a yearly memory, (as the Paschal lamb was eaten but once every year,) but a daily remembrance he ordained thereof in bread and wine, sanctified and dedicated to that purpose, saying, *This is my body; this cup is my blood, which is shed for the remission of sins. Do this in the remembrance of me:* Admonishing us by these words, spoken at the making of his last will and testament, and at his departing out of the world, (because they should be the better remembered,) that whensoever we do eat the bread in his holy Supper, and drink of that cup, we should remember how much Christ hath done for us, and how he died for our sakes. Therefore, saith St. Paul, *As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink the cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death until he come.*

And forasmuch as this holy bread broken, and the wine divided, do represent unto us the death of Christ now passed, as the killing of the Paschal lamb did represent the same yet to come: therefore our Saviour Christ used the same manner of speech of the bread and wine, as God before used of the Paschal lamb.

Exod. xii. For as in the Old Testament God said, *This is the Lord's pass-by, or passover*, even so saith Christ in the New Testament, *This is my body, This is my blood.* But in the old mystery and sacrament, the lamb was not the Lord's very passover or passing-by, but it was a figure which represented his passing by. So likewise in the New Testament, the bread and wine be not Christ's very body and blood, but they be figures, which by Christ's institution be unto the godly receivers thereof sacraments, tokens, significations, and representations of his very flesh and blood: instructing their faith, that as the bread and wine feed them corporally, and continue this temporal life; so the very flesh and blood of Christ feedeth them spiritually, and giveth them everlasting life.

And why should any man think it strange to admit a figure in these speeches, *This is my body, This is my blood?* seeing that the communication the same night, by the papists' own confessions, was so full of figurative speeches? For the Apostles spake figuratively when they asked Christ where he would eat his passover or pass-by. And Christ himself used the same figure when he said, *I have much desired to eat this passover with you.*

CHAP.
XII.
What figurative
speeches
were used
at Christ's
last supper.
Matt. xxvi.
Mark xiv.
Luke xxii.

Also to eat Christ's body and to drink his blood, I am sure they will not say that it is taken properly, to eat and drink as we do eat other meats and drinks.

And when Christ said, *This cup is a new testament in my blood*; here, in one sentence, be two figures, one in this word *cup*, which is not taken for the cup itself, but for the thing contained in the cup: another is in this word *testament*; for neither the cup, nor the wine contained in the cup, is Christ's testament, but is a token, sign, and figure, whereby is represented unto us his testament, confirmed by his blood.

And if the papists will say, as they say indeed, that by this cup is neither meant the cup nor the wine contained in the cup, but that thereby is meant Christ's blood contained in the cup; yet must they needs grant that there is a figure. For Christ's blood is not in proper speech the new testament, but it is the thing that confirmed the new testament. And yet by this strange interpretation the papists make a very strange speech, more strange than any figurative speech is. For this they make the sentence: This blood is a new testament in my blood. Which saying is so fond, and so far from all reason, that the foolishness thereof is evident to every man.

Now forasmuch as it is plainly declared and manifestly proved, that Christ called bread his body, and wine his blood, and that these sentences be figurative speeches; and that Christ, as concerning his humanity and bodily presence, is ascended into heaven with his whole flesh and blood, and is not here upon earth; and that the substance of bread and wine do remain still, and be received in the sacrament;

CHAP.
XIII.
Answer to
the authori-
ties and ar-
guments of
the papists.

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III.**

and that although they remain, yet they have changed their names, so that the bread is called Christ's body, and the wine his blood; and that the cause why their names be changed is this, that we should lift up our hearts and minds from the things which we see unto the things which we believe, and be above in heaven, whereof the bread and wine have the names, although they be not the very same things in deed: these things well considered and weighed, all the authorities and arguments, which the papists feign to serve for their purpose, be clean wiped away.

**CHAP.
XIV.**

One brief
answer to
all.

For whether the authors which they allege say, that we do eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood; or that the bread and wine is converted into the substance of his flesh and blood; or that we be turned into his flesh; or that in the Lord's Supper we do receive his very flesh and blood; or that in the bread and wine is received that which did hang upon the cross; or that Christ hath left his flesh with us; or that Christ is in us, and we in him; or that he is whole here and whole in heaven; or that the same thing is in the chalice which flowed out of his side; or that the same thing is received with our mouth which is believed with our faith; or that the bread and wine, after the consecration, be the body and blood of Christ; or that we be nourished with the body and blood of Christ; or that Christ is both gone hence and is still here; or that Christ at his last supper bare himself in his own hands:

These and all other like sentences may not be understood of Christ's humanity literally and carnally, as the words in common speech do properly signify: for so doth no man eat Christ's flesh, nor drink his blood; nor so is not the bread and wine turned into his flesh and blood, nor we into him; nor so is the bread and wine after the consecration his flesh and blood; nor so is not his flesh and blood whole here in earth, eaten with our mouths; nor so did not Christ take himself in his own hands.

But these and all other like sentences, which declare Christ to be here in earth, and to be eaten and drunken of Christian people, are to be understood either of his divine

nature, whereby he is every where, or else they must be understood figuratively or spiritually. For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and dead.

CHAP.
XIV.

This brief answer will suffice for all that the papists can bring for their purpose, if it be aptly applied. And for the more evidence hereof, I shall apply the same to some such places as the papists think do make most for them: that by the answer to those places, the rest may be the more easily answered unto.

They allege St. Clement, whose words be these, as they report: "The sacraments of God's secrets are committed to three degrees, to a priest, a deacon, and a minister; which with fear and trembling ought to keep *the leavings of the broken pieces of the Lord's body*, that no corruption be found in the holy place, lest by negligence great injury be done *to the portion of the Lord's body*." And by and by followeth: "*So many hosts must be offered in the altar as will suffice for the people*; and if any remain, *they must not be kept until the morning*, but be spent and consumed of the clerks with fear and trembling. And they that consume *the residue of the Lord's body*, may not by and by take other common meats, lest they should mix that holy portion with the meat which is digested by the belly, and avoided by the fundament. Therefore if *the Lord's portion* be eaten in the morning, the ministers that consume it must fast unto six of the clock; and if they do take it at three or four of the clock, the minister must fast until the evening."

CHAP.
XV.

The answer
to Clements,
Epistola 2.

Thus much writeth Clement of this matter, if the Epistle which they allege were Clement's, as indeed it is not^a. But they have feigned many things in other men's names, thereby to stabliah their feigned purposes. Nevertheless whose soever the Epistle was, if it be thoroughly considered,

^a [See *Answer to Gardyner*, book iii. chap. 15.]

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III.

it maketh much more against the papists than for their purpose. For by the same Epistle appeareth evidently three special things against the errors of the papists.

The first is, that the bread in the sacrament is called the Lord's body, and the pieces of the broken bread be called the pieces and fragments of the Lord's body, which cannot be understand but figuratively.

The second is, that the bread ought not to be reserved and hanged up, as the papists every where do use.

The third is, that the priests ought not to receive the sacrament alone, (as the papists commonly do, making a sale thereof unto the people,) but they ought to communicate with the people.

And here is diligently to be noted, that we ought not unreverently and unadvisedly to approach unto the meat of the Lord's table, as we do to other common meats and drinks, but with great fear and dread, lest we should come to that holy table unworthily, wherein is not only represented, but also spiritually given unto us, very Christ himself.

And therefore we ought to come to that board of the Lord with all reverence, faith, love and charity, fear and dread, according to the same.

Here I pass over Ignatius^b and Irenæus^c, which make nothing for the papists' opinions, but stand in the commendation of the holy communion, and in exhortation of all men to the often and godly receiving thereof. And yet neither they nor no man else, can extol and commend the same sufficiently, according to the dignity thereof, if it be godly used as it ought to be.

The answer
to Diony-

Dionysius also^d, whom they allege to praise and extol

^b Ignatius in *Epist. ad Ephesianos*. [See Smythe, *Assertion of the Sacrament*.]

^c Irenæus, lib. v. *Contra Valentin*. [See p. 321 and 373; and *Answer to Gardyner*, book ii. chap. 5.

^d [That Dionysius the Areopagite was not the author of the works attributed to him, is now generally admitted; but the question, who *did* write them, is still undecided. The most prevailing opinion seems to be, that they were composed by an Apollinarian in the fourth century. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* ed. Harles.]

this sacrament, (as indeed it is most worthy, being a sacrament of most high dignity and perfection, representing unto us our most perfect spiritual conjunction unto Christ, and our continual nourishing, feeding, comfort, and spiritual life in him,) yet he never said that the flesh and blood of Christ was in the bread and wine really, corporally, sensibly, and naturally, (as the papists would bear us in hand,) but he calleth ever the bread and wine signs, pledges, and tokens, declaring unto the faithful receivers of the same, that they receive Christ spiritually, and that they spiritually eat his flesh and drink his blood. And although the bread and wine be figures, signs, and tokens of Christ's flesh and blood, (as St. Dionyse calleth them both before the consecration and after,) yet the Greek annotations upon the same Dionyse do say, that the very things themselves be above in heaven.

CHAP.
XV.

*sius De Ec-
cles. Hier.
cap. 3.*

And as the same Dionyse maketh nothing for the papists' opinions in this point of Christ's real and corporal presence, so in divers other things he maketh quite and clean against them, and that specially in three points; in transubstantiation, in reservation of the sacrament, and in the receiving of the same by the priest alone.

Furthermore they do allege Tertullian, that he constantly affirmeth, that in the sacrament of the altar we do eat the body and drink the blood of our Saviour Christ. To whom we grant that our flesh eateth and drinketh the bread and wine, which be called the body and blood of Christ, because, as Tertullian saith, they do represent his body and blood, although they be not really the same in very deed. And we grant also, that our souls by faith do eat his very body and drink his blood; but that is, spiritually, sucking out of the same everlasting life. But we deny that unto this spiritual feeding is required any real and corporal presence.

*The answer
to Tertulli-
anus De
Resurrec-
tione Car-
nis.*

And therefore this Tertullian speaketh nothing against the truth of our catholic doctrine, but he speaketh many things most plainly for us, and against the papists, and specially in three points. First, in that he saith that Christ called bread his body. The second, that Christ called it so,

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III.

because it representeth his body. The third, in that he saith, that by these words of Christ, *This is my body*, is meant, *This is a figure of my body*.

The answer
to Origenes
In Numer.
Hom. 7.

Moreover they allege for them Origen, because they would seem to have many ancient authors favourers of their erroneous doctrine; which Origen is most clearly against them. For although he do say, as they allege, that those things which before were signified by obscure figures, be now truly, *in deed, and in their very nature and kind* accomplished and fulfilled; and for the declaration thereof, he bringeth forth three examples; one of the stone that floweth water, another of the sea and cloud, and the third of manna, which in the Old Testament did signify Christ to come, who is now come indeed, and is manifested and exhibited unto us, as it were, face to face and sensibly, *in his word, in the sacrament of regeneration, and in the sacraments of bread and wine*; yet Origen meant not, that Christ is corporally either in his word, or in the water of baptism, or in the bread and wine, nor that we carnally and corporally be regenerated and born again, or eat Christ's flesh and blood. For our regeneration in Christ is spiritual, and our eating and drinking is a spiritual feeding, which kind of regeneration and feeding requireth no real and corporal presence of Christ, but only his presence in spirit, grace, and effectual operation.

And that Origen thus meant, that Christ's flesh is a spiritual meat, and his blood a spiritual drink; and that the eating and drinking of his flesh and blood may not be understand literally, but spiritually; it is manifested by Origen's own words, in his seventh Homily upon the book called Leviticus, where he sheweth, that those words must be understand figuratively, and whosoever understandeth them otherwise, they be deceived, and take harm by their own gross understanding^e.

The answer
to Cyprianus,
lib. 2.
Epist. 3.

And likewise meant Cyprian, in those places which the adversaries of the truth allege of him, concerning the true eating of Christ's very flesh and drinking of his blood.

^e In Levit. Hom. 7.

CHAP.
XV.

For Cyprian spake of no gross and carnal eating with the mouth, but of an inward, spiritual, and pure eating with heart and mind; which is to believe in our hearts, that his flesh was rent and torn for us upon the cross, and his blood shed for our redemption, and that the same flesh and blood now sitteth at the right hand of the Father, making continual intercession for us; and to imprint and digest this in our minds, putting our whole affiance and trust in him, as touching our salvation, and offering ourselves clearly unto him, to love and serve him all the days of our life. This is truly, sincerely, and spiritually to eat his flesh and to drink his blood.

And this sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was that oblation, which, Cyprian saith, was figured and signified, before it was done, by the wine which Noe drank, and by the bread and wine which Melchisedech gave to Abraham, and by many other figures which St. Cyprian there rehearseth.

And now when Christ is come, and hath accomplished that sacrifice, the same is figured, signified, and represented unto us by that bread and wine, which faithful people receive daily in the holy communion: wherein like as with their mouths carnally they eat the bread and drink the wine, so by their faith spiritually they eat Christ's very flesh, and drink his very blood. And hereby it appeareth that St. Cyprian clearly affirmeth the most true doctrine, and is wholly upon our side.

And against the papists he teacheth most plainly, that the communion ought to be received of all men under both kinds, and that Christ called bread his body and wine his blood, and that there is not transubstantiation, but that bread remaineth there as a figure to represent Christ's body, and wine to represent his blood; and that those which be not the lively members of Christ, do eat the bread and drink the wine, and be nourished by them, but the very flesh and blood of Christ they neither eat nor drink.

Thus have you heard declared the mind of St. Cyprian.

But Hilarius, think they, is plainest for them in this matter, whose words they translate thus: "If the Word was

The answer
to Hilarius
De Trini-
tute.

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III.

“made verily flesh, and we verily receive the Word being
 “flesh in our Lord’s meat, *how shall not Christ be thought*
 “*to dwell naturally in us?* who, being born man, hath
 “taken unto him the nature of our flesh, that cannot be
 “severed, and hath put together the nature of his flesh to
 “the nature of his eternity, under the sacrament of the
 “communion of his flesh unto us. For so we be all one,
 “because the Father is in Christ, and *Christ in us*. Where-
 “fore whosoever will deny the Father to be naturally in
 “Christ, he must deny first either himself to be naturally
 “in Christ, or *Christ to be naturally in him*. For the
 “being of the Father in Christ, and *the being of Christ in*
 “*us*, maketh us to be one in them. And therefore if Christ
 “have taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that
 “was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also
 “*we receive under the* ^f*true mystery the flesh of his body*,
 “by means whereof we shall be one, (for the Father is in
 “Christ, and *Christ in us*,) how shall that be called the
 “unity of will, when *the natural property, brought to pass*
 “*by the sacrament*, is the sacrament of unity?”

Thus doth the papists, the adversaries of God’s word and of his truth, allege the authority of Hilarius, either perversely and purposely, as it seemeth, untruly citing him, and wresting his words to their purpose, or else not truly understanding him.

For although he saith that Christ is naturally in us, yet he saith also that we be naturally in him. And nevertheless in so saying, he meant not of the natural and corporal presence of the substance of Christ’s body and of ours; for as our bodies be not after that sort within his body, so is not his body after that sort within our bodies; but he meant that Christ in his incarnation received of us a mortal nature,

^f [The translation of this clause is not correct, and furnished grounds to Cranmer’s adversaries at Oxford for charging him with falsifying Hilary designedly. But the error seems to have originated in his copying the citation from Gardyner’s *Detection of the Devil’s Sophistry*, where “*vero sub mysterio*” is read instead of “*vere sub mysterio*.” See *Answer to Gardyner*, book iii. chap. 15. and *Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey*.]

and united the same unto his Divinity, and so be we naturally in him. [CHAP.
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And the sacraments of baptism and of his holy Supper, if we rightly use the same, do most assuredly certify us, that we be partakers of his godly nature, having given unto us by him immortality and life everlasting, and so is Christ naturally in us. And so be we one with Christ, and Christ with us, not only in will and mind, but also in very natural properties.

And so concludeth Hilarius against Arius, that Christ is one with his Father, not in purpose and will only, but also in very nature.

And as the union between Christ and us in baptism is spiritual, and requireth no real and corporal presence; so likewise our union with Christ in his holy Supper is spiritual, and therefore requireth no real and corporal presence.

And therefore Hilarius, speaking there of both the sacraments, maketh no difference between our union with Christ in baptism, and our union with him in his holy Supper; and saith further, that as Christ is in us, so be we in him; which the papists cannot understand corporally and really, except they will say, that all our bodies be corporally within Christ's body. Thus is Hilarius answered unto both plainly and shortly §.

§ Idem Hilarius *De Trin.* lib. viii. [ed. Bened. p. 218.] "Quorum anima una et cor unum omnium erat, quæro utrum per fidem Dei unum erat? utique per fidem. Et interrogo, utrum fides una, an altera sit? una certe. Si ergo per fidem, id est, per unius fidei naturam, utique unum omnes erant: quomodo non naturalem in his intelligis unitatem, qui per naturam unius fidei unum sunt? Omnes enim renati erant ad innocentiam, ad immortalitatem, &c. Sin vero regenerati in unius vitæ atque æternitatis naturam sunt, per quod anima eorum et cor unum est; cessat in his assensus unitas, qui unum sunt in ejusdem regeneratione naturæ, &c. Docet Apostolus ex natura sacramentorum esse hanc fidelium unitatem, ad Galatas scribens: *Quot enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis, &c.* Quod unum sunt in tanta gentium, conditionum, sexuum diversitate, nunquid ex assensu voluntatis est, aut ex sacramenti unitate, quia his et baptisma sit unum, et unum Christum induti omnes sunt? Quid ergo hic animorum concordia faciet, cum per id unum sint, quod uno Christo per naturam unius baptismi induantur? &c. Itaque, qui per rem eandem unum sunt, natura etiam unum sunt, non tantum volun-

BOOK
III.

And this answer to Hilarius will serve also unto Cyril,
whom they allege to speak after the same sort that Hilarius

The answer
to Cyrillus.

Joan. xvii.

tate, &c. Dominus Patrem orat, ut qui in se credituri sint, unum sint, et sicut ipse in Patre est, et Pater in eo est, ita omnes in his unum sint, &c. Primum precatio est, *Ut omnes unum sint*, tum deinde unitatis profectus exemplo unitatis ostenditur, cum ait: *Sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi unum sint in nobis*: ut sicut Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre est, ita per hujus unitatis formam in Patre et Filio unum omnes essent, &c. Per id ergo mundus crediturus est Filium a Patre missum esse, quod omnes qui credituri in eum sunt, unum in Patre et Filio erunt: et quomodo erunt, mox docemur. *Et ego honorem quem dedisti mihi, dedi eis*. Et nunc interrogo, utrum id ipsum sit honor quod voluntas; (cum voluntas motus mentis sit), an vero honor naturæ, aut species, aut dignitas? Honorem ergo acceptum a Patre, Filius omnibus qui in se credituri sunt, dedit, non utique voluntatem, &c. Et cum per honorem datum Filio, et a Filio præstitum credentibus, omnes unum sunt: quæro, quomodo Filii diversi honoris a Patre sit? Cum credentes omnes honor Filii ad unitatem paterni honoris assumat, &c. Fidem teneo, atque causam unitatis accipio, sed nondum apprehendo rationem, quomodo datus honor unum omnes esse perficiat. Sed Dominus nihil conscientiæ fidelium incertum relinquens, ipsum illum naturalis efficientiæ docuit effectum, dicens: *Ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus. Ego in his, et tu in me, ut sint perfecti in unum*. Eos nunc qui inter Patrem et Filium voluntatis ingerunt unitatem, interrogo, utrumne per naturæ veritatem hodie Christus in nobis sit, an per concordiam voluntatis? [Here follows the passage translated by Cranmer, the original of which will be found in the *Authorities*.] "De naturali in nobis Christi veritate ipse ait: *Caro mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui edit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum in me manet, et ego in eo*. De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus: nunc enim et ipsius Domini professione et fide nostra, vere caro est, et vere sanguis est. Et hæc accepta atque hausta efficiunt, ut et nos in Christo et Christus in nobis sit." Et mox. "Est ergo in nobis ipse per carnem, et sumus in eo, dum secum hoc quod nos sumus, in Deo est. Quod autem in eo per sacramentum communicatæ carnis et sanguinis simus, ipse testatur dicens: *Et hic mundus jam me non videt, vos autem me videbitis, quoniam ego vivo et vos vivetis, quoniam ego in Patre meo, et vos in me, et ego in vobis*. Si voluntatis tantum unitatem intelligi vellet, cur gradum quandam atque ordinem con-summandæ unitatis exposuit: nisi ut cum ille in Patre per naturam Divinitatis esset, nos contra in eo per corporalem ejus nativitatem, et ille rursum in nobis per sacramentorum inesse mysterium crederetur, ac sic perfecta per mediatorem unitas doceretur? cum nobis in se manentibus, ipse maneret in Patre, et in Patre manens ipse maneret in nobis, et ita ad unitatem Patris proficeremus, cum qui in eo naturaliter secundum nativitatem inest, nos quoque in eo naturaliter in-essemus, ipso in nobis naturaliter permanente. Quod autem in nobis naturalis hæc unitas sit, ipse ita testatus est. *Qui edit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo*. Non enim quis in eo erit, nisi in quo ipse fuerit: ejus tantum in se assumptam habens carnem, qui suam sumpserit. Perfectæ autem hujus unitatis sacramentum superius jam docuerat, dicens: *Sicut me misit vivens Pater, et ego vivo per Patrem, et qui manducat meam carnem, et ipse*

doth, that Christ is naturally in us. The words which they CHAP.
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“vivet per me. Vivet ergo per Patrem, et quo modo per Patrem vivit, eodem modo nos per carnem ejus vivemus. Omnis enim comparatio ad intelligentiæ formam præsumitur: ut id de quo agitur, secundum propositum exemplum assequamur. Hæc ergo vitæ nostræ causa est, quod in nobis carnalibus manentem per carnem Christum habemus; victuris nobis per eum ea conditione qua vivit ille per Patrem. Si ergo nos naturaliter secundum carnem per eum vivimus, id est, naturam carnis suæ adepti; quomodo non naturaliter secundum Spiritum in se Patrem habeat, cum vivat ipse per Patrem?” Et mox. *“Hæc autem idcirco a nobis commemorata sunt, quia voluntatis tantum inter Patrem et Filium unitatem hæretici mentientes unitatis nostræ ad Deum utebantur exemplo, tanquam nobis ad Filium, et per Filium ad Patrem obsequio tantum ac voluntate religionis unitis, nulla per sacramentum carnis et sanguinis naturalis communionis proprietas indulgeretur; cum et per honorem nobis datum Filii, et per manentem in nobis carnaliter Filium, et in eo nobis corporaliter et inseparabiliter unitis, mysterium veræ ac naturalis unitatis sit prædicandum.”*

Idem, *lib. eodem*, [ed. Bened. p. 244.] *“Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis ei quem misit ipse. Sacramentum et corporationis et Divinitatis suæ Dominus exponens, fidei quoque nostræ et spei doctrinam locutus est; ut escam non pereuntem sed permanentem in vitam æternam operaremur, ut hanc æternitatis escam dari nobis a filio hominis meminissimus, ut filium hominis signatum a Deo Patre sciremus, ut hoc esse opus Dei nosceremus, credere in eum quem misisset. Et quis est, quem Pater misit? Nempe quem signavit Deus. Et quis est, quem signavit Deus? Filius utique hominis, escam scilicet præbens vitæ æternæ. Qui tandem sunt quibus præbet eam? Illi namque qui operabuntur escam non intereuntem. Atque ita, quæ opera escæ est, eadem operatio Dei est, in eum, scilicet, credidisse quem misit.”*

Idem, *lib. ix.* [ed. Bened. p. 263.] *“Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, &c. (Coloss. ii.) Et non secundum Jesum Christum, quia in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo Divinitatis corporaliter, et estis in illo repleti, &c. Exposita itaque habitantis corporaliter Divinitatis in eo plenitudine, sacramentum assumptionis nostræ continuo subjecit, dicens: Et estis in eo repleti. Ut enim in eo Divinitatis est plenitudo, ita in eo et nos sumus repleti. Neque sane ait, estis repleti, sed, in eo estis repleti, quia per fidei spem in vitam æternam regenerati et regenerandi omnes, nunc in Christi corpore manent, replendis postea ipsis, non jam in eo, sed in ipsis, secundum tempus illud de quo Apostolus ait: Qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostræ, conforme corpori claritatis suæ, &c. Demonstrato autem et naturæ suæ et assumptionis nostræ sacramento, cum in eo plenitudine Divinitatis manente, nos in eo per id quod homo natus est, repleamur, reliquam dispensationem humanæ salutis exequitur, dicens: In quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in despoliatione corporis carnis, sed in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismo, in quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui excitavit eum a mortuis, &c. Regeneratio baptismi resurrectionis est virtus, &c. In eo enim resurgimus per ejus Dei fidem, qui eum suscitavit a mortuis.”*

Idem, *lib. ii.* *“Virgo, partus, et corpus, postque crux, mors, inferi, salus nostra est. Humani enim generis causa Dei Filius natus ex virgine est Spiritu Sancto, ipso sibi in hac operatione famulante, et sua*

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- recite be these: "^hWe deny not," saith Cyril against the heretic, "but we be spiritually joined to Christ by faith and sincere charity; but that we should have no manner of conjunction in our flesh with Christ, that we utterly deny, and think it utterly discrepant from God's holy Scriptures. For who doubteth, that Christ is so the vine tree and we so the branches, as we get thence our life. Hear what St. Paul saith, *We be all one body with Christ*; for though we be many, we be one in him. All we partecipate in one food. *Thinketh this heretic that we know not the strength and virtue of the mystical benediction? which, when it is made in us, doth it not make Christ by communication of his flesh to dwell corporally in us?* Why be the members of faithful men's bodies called the
- 1 Cor. vi. "members of Christ? *Know you not*, saith St. Paul, *that your members be the members of Christ? And shall I make the members of Christ part of the whore's body?*
- John vi. "God forbid. And our Saviour also saith, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*"

Although in these words Cyril doth say, that Christ doth dwell corporally in us, when we receive the mystical benediction; yet he neither saith that Christ dwelleth corporally in the bread, nor that he dwelleth in us corporally only at such times as we receive the sacrament, nor that he dwelleth in us, and not we in him; but he saith as well, that we dwell in him, as that he dwelleth in us. Which dwelling is neither corporal nor local, but an heavenly, spiritual, and

"videlicet Dei inumbrante virtute, corporis sibi initia consevit, et exordia carnis instituit: ut homo factus ex virgine, naturam in se carnis acciperet, perque hujus admixtionis societatem sanctificatum in eo universi generis humani corpus existeret: ut quemadmodum omnes in se, per id quod corporeum se esse voluit, conderentur, ita rursum in omnes ipse per id quod ejus est invisibile, referretur." Et mox. "Non ille eguit homo effici, per quem homo factus est, sed nos eguimus, ut Deus caro fieret, et habitaret in nobis, id est, assumptione carnis unius, membra universæ carnis incoletet. Humilitas ejus nostra nobilitas est, contumelia ejus honor noster est: quod ille est Deus in carne consistens, hoc nos vicissim in Deum ex carne renovat." EMBD.

^h Cyril, *In Joan.* lib. x. cap. 13.

supernatural dwelling, whereby, so long as we dwell in him and he in us, we have by him everlasting life. And there-
 fore Cyril saith in the same place, that Christ is the vine and we the branches, because that by him we have life. For as the branches receive life and nourishment of the body of the vine, so receive we by him the natural property of his body, which is life and immortality: and by that means we, being his members, do live, and are spiritually nourished. CHAP.
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John xv.

And this meant Cyril by this word *corporally*, when he saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in us. And the same meant also St. Hilarius by this word *naturally*, when he said that Christ dwelleth naturally in us. And as St. Paul, when he said that *in Christ dwelleth the full Divinity corporally*, by this word *corporally* he meant not that the Divinity is a body, and so by that body dwelleth bodily in Christ: but by this word *corporally*, he meant that the Divinity is not in Christ accidentally, lightly, and slenderly, but substantially and perfectly, with all his might and power; so that Christ was not only a mortal man, to suffer for us, but also he was immortal God, able to redeem us: Coloss. ii.

So St. Cyril, when he said that Christ is in us *corporally*, he meant that we have him in us, not lightly and to small effect and purpose, but that we have him in us substantially, pithily, and effectually, in such wise that we have by him redemption and everlasting life.

And this I suck not out of mine own fingers, but have it of Cyril's own express words, where he saith, "A little benediction draweth the whole man to God, and filleth him with his grace; and *after this manner Christ dwelleth in us* and we in Christ¹."

But as for corporal eating and drinking with our mouths, and digesting with our bodies, Cyril never meant that Christ doth so dwell in us, as he plainly declareth.

"Our sacrament," saith he^k, "doth not affirm the eating of a man, drawing wickedly Christian people to have

¹ In Joan. lib. iv. cap. 17.

^k *Anathematismo*. 11.

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“ gross imaginations and carnal phantasies of such things as
 “ be fine and pure and received only with a sincere faith.”
 “ But as two waxes that be molten and put together, they
 “ close so in one, that every part of the one is joined to
 “ every part of the other; even so,” saith Cyril¹, “ *he that*
 “ *receiveth the flesh and blood of the Lord must needs be*
 “ *so joined with Christ, that Christ must be in him and he*
 “ *in Christ.*”

By these words of Cyril appeareth his mind plainly, that we may not grossly and rudely think of the eating of Christ with our mouths, but with our faith, by which eating, although he be absent hence bodily, and be in the eternal life and glory with his Father, yet we be made partakers of his nature, to be immortal, and have eternal life and glory with him.

And thus is declared the mind as well of Cyril as of Hilarius.

Basilus,
Nyssenus,
and Nazianzenus.

And here may be well enough passed over Basilus, Gregorius Nyssenus, and Gregorius Nazianzenus, partly because they speak little of this matter, and because they may be easily answered unto by that which is before declared and often repeated, which is, that a figure hath the name of the thing whereof it is the figure, and therefore of the figure may be spoken the same thing that may be spoken of the thing itself.

And as concerning the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, they spake of the spiritual eating and drinking thereof by faith, and not of corporal eating and drinking with the mouth and teeth.

The answer
to Emissenus.

Likewise Eusebius Emissenus is shortly answered unto; for he speaketh not of any real and corporal conversion of bread and wine into Christ's body and blood, nor of any corporal and real eating and drinking of the same, but he speaketh of a sacramental conversion of bread and wine, and of a spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood. After which sort, Christ is as well present in bap-

tism (as the same Eusebius plainly there declareth) as he is in the Lord's table: which is, not carnally and corporally, but by faith, and spiritually. But of this author is spoken before more at large in the matter of transubstantiation¹.

And now I will come to the saying of St. Ambrose, which is always in their mouths^m. "Before the consecration," saith he, as they allege, "it is bread; but after the words of consecration it is the body of Christ."

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XV.

The answer
to Ambro-
sius *De Sa-
cramentis*,
lib. iv. cap.
4-

For answer hereunto, it must be first known what consecration is.

Consecration is the separation of any thing from a profane and worldly use unto a spiritual and godly use.

Conse-
cra-
tion.

And therefore when usual and common water is taken from other uses, and put to the use of baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, then it may rightly be called consecrated water, that is to say, water put to an holy use.

Even so when common bread and wine be taken and severed from other bread and wine, to the use of the holy communion, that portion of bread and wine, although it be of the same substance that the other is from the which it is severed, yet it is now called consecrated or holy bread and holy wine.

Not that the bread and wine have or can have any holiness in them, but that they be used to an holy work, and represent holy and godly things. And therefore St. Dionyseⁿ calleth the bread holy bread, and the cup an holy cup, as soon as they be set upon the altar to the use of the holy communion.

But specially they may be called holy and consecrated, when they be separated to that holy use by Christ's own words, which he spake for that purpose, saying of the bread, *This is my body*; and of the wine, *This is my blood*.

Matt. xxvi.
Matt. xiv.
Luke xxii.

So that commonly the authors, before those words be

¹ Page 323.

ⁿ *De Eccl. Hierar.* cap. 3.

^m [See note, p. 326.]

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spoken, do take the bread and wine but as other common bread and wine; but after those words be pronounced over them, then they take them for consecrated and holy bread and wine.

Not that the bread and wine can be partakers of any holiness or godliness, or can be the body and blood of Christ; but that they represent the very body and blood of Christ, and the holy food and nourishment which we have by him. And so they be called by the names of the body and blood of Christ, as the sign, token, and figure is called by the name of the very thing which it showeth and signifieth.

And therefore as St. Ambrose, in the words before cited by the adversaries, saith, that before the consecration it is bread, and after the consecration it is Christ's body; so in other places he doth more plainly set forth his meaning, saying these words: "Before the benediction of the heavenly words, it is called another kind of thing; but *after the consecration, is signified* the body of Christ." Likewise; "Before the consecration, it is called another thing; but *after the consecration, it is named* the blood of Christ^o." And again he saith: "When I treated of the sacraments, I told you, that that thing which is offered, before the words of Christ is called bread; but when the words of Christ be pronounced, then it is not called bread, but it is called by the name of Christ's body^p."

By which words of St. Ambrose, it appeareth plainly, that the bread is called by the name of Christ's body after the consecration; and although it be still bread, yet after consecration it is dignified by the name of the thing which it representeth, as at length is declared before in the process of transubstantiation, and specially in the words of Theodoretus.

And as the bread is a corporal meat, and corporally eaten, so, saith St. Ambrose^q, is the body of Christ a spiritual meat, and spiritually eaten, and that requireth no corporal presence.

^o *De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur*, cap. ult.

^p *De Sacramentis*, lib. v. cap. 4.

^q *Ibid.* lib. vi. cap. 1.

Now let us examine St. John Chrysostome, who, in sound of words, maketh most for the adversaries of the truth: but they that be familiar and acquainted with Chrysostome's manner of speaking, how in all his writings he is full of allusions, schemes, tropes, and figures, shall soon perceive, that he helpeth nothing their purposes, as it shall well appear by the discussing of those places, which the papists do allege of him; which be specially two: one is, *In Sermone de Eucharistia in Encæniis*; and the other is, *De Proditione Judæ*.

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XV.

The answer
to Chrysos-
tomas.

And as touching the first, no man can speak more plainly against them than St. John Chrysostome speaketh in that Sermon. Wherefore it is to be wondered, why they should allege him for their party, unless they be so blind in their opinion that they can see nothing, nor discern what maketh for them, nor what against them. For there he hath these words: "When you come to these mysteries," speaking of the Lord's board and holy communion, "*do not think that you receive by a man the body of God,*" meaning of Christ^r. These be St. John Chrysostome's own words in that place.

Then if we receive not the body of Christ at the hands of a man, ergo, the body of Christ is not really, corporally, and naturally in the sacrament, and so given to us by the priest. And then it followeth that all the papists be liars, because they feign and teach the contrary.

But this place of Chrysostome is touched before more at length in answering to the papists' transubstantiation.

Wherefore now shall be answered the other place^s, which they allege of Chrysostome in these words: "Here he is present in the sacrament and doth consecrate, which garnished the table at the Maundy or last supper. For it is not man, which maketh of the bread and wine, being set forth to be consecrated, the body and blood of Christ; but it is Christ himself, which for us is crucified, that

^r *In Sermone de Eucharistia in Encæniis*. [Ed. Bened. *De Pænitent.* Hom. 9. See above, p. 341, and the *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

^s *De Proditione Judæ*.

- BOOK III. "maketh himself to be there present. The words are uttered and pronounced by the mouth of the priest, but the consecration is by the virtue, might, and grace of God himself: and as this saying of God, *Increase, be multiplied, and fill the earth*, once spoken by God, took all ways effect toward generation: even so the saying of Christ, *This is my body, being but once spoken, doth throughout all Churches to this present, and shall to his last coming, give force and strength to this sacrifice.*"
- Gen. i. "Christ, This is my body, being but once spoken, doth throughout all Churches to this present, and shall to his last coming, give force and strength to this sacrifice."
- Matt. xxvi.
Matt. xiv.
Luke xxii.

Thus far they rehearse of Chrysostome's words. Which words, although they sound much for their purpose, yet if they be thoroughly considered, and conferred with other places of the same author, it shall well appear, that he meant nothing less than that Christ's body should be corporally and naturally present in the bread and wine; but that in such sort he is in heaven only, and in our minds by faith we ascend up into heaven, to eat him there, although sacramentally, as in a sign and figure, he be in the bread and wine; and so is he also in the water of baptism; and in them that rightly receive the bread and wine, he is in a much more perfection than corporally, which should avail them nothing; but in them he is spiritually with his divine power, giving them eternal life.

- And as in the first creation of the world all living creatures had their first life by God's only word; for God only spake his word, and all things were created by and by accordingly; and after their creation he spake these words, *Increase and multiply*; and, by the virtue of those words, all things have gendered and increased ever since that time: even so after that Christ said, *Eat, this is my body, and drink, this is my blood, do this hereafter in remembrance of me*; by virtue of these words, and not by virtue of any man, the bread and wine be so consecrated, that whosoever with a lively faith doth eat that bread and drink that wine, doth spiritually eat, drink, and feed upon Christ, sitting in heaven with his Father. And this is the whole meaning of St. Chrysostome.
- Gen. i. "Increase and multiply; and, by the virtue of those words, all things have gendered and increased ever since that time: even so after that Christ said, *Eat, this is my body, and drink, this is my blood, do this hereafter in remembrance of me*; by virtue of these words, and not by virtue of any man, the bread and wine be so consecrated, that whosoever with a lively faith doth eat that bread and drink that wine, doth spiritually eat, drink, and feed upon Christ, sitting in heaven with his Father. And this is the whole meaning of St. Chrysostome."
- Matt. xxvi.
Mark xiv.
Luke xxii.

And therefore doth he so often say, that we receive Christ

in baptism; and when he hath spoken of the receiving of him in the holy communion, by and by he speaketh of the receiving of him in baptism, without declaring any diversity of his presence in the one from his presence in the other.

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He saith also in many places, “*That we ascend into heaven, and do eat Christ sitting there above.*”

And where St. Chrysostome and other authors do speak of the wonderful operation of God in his sacraments, passing all man’s wit, senses, and reason, they mean not of the working of God in the water, bread, and wine, but of the marvellous working of God in the hearts of them that receive the sacraments, secretly, inwardly, and spiritually transforming them, renewing, feeding, comforting, and nourishing them with his flesh and blood, through his most Holy Spirit, the same flesh and blood still remaining in heaven.

Thus is this place of Chrysostome sufficiently answered unto; and if any man require any more, then let him look what is recited of the same author before, in the matter of transubstantiation.

Yet furthermore they bring for them Theophilus Alexandrinus, who, as they allege, saith thus: “Christ giving thanks did break, (which also we do,) adding thereto prayer: and he gave unto them, saying, *Take, this is my body*; this that I do now give, and that which ye now do take. *For the bread is not a figure only of Christ’s body, but it is changed into the very body of Christ*; for Christ saith, *The bread which I will give you is my flesh*.^{John vi.} Nevertheless the flesh of Christ is not seen for our weakness, but bread and wine are familiar unto us. And surely if we should visibly see flesh and blood, we could not abide it. And therefore our Lord, bearing with our weakness, doth retain and keep the form and appearance

¹ *Ad Populum Antiochenum, Hom. 61. et In Joan. Hom. 45.* [This reference, though apparently to two Homilies, is in fact to one only: the Sermons, which in the earlier editions of Chrysostom are entitled, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, being, with the exception of the first twenty-five, mere compilations from his other works. Cave, *Hist. Liter.*]

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III.

“ of bread and wine; but *he doth turn the very bread and wine into the very flesh and blood of Christ.*”

These be the words which the papists do cite out of Theophilus upon the Gospel of St. Mark. But by this one place it appeareth evidently, either how negligent the papists be in searching out and examining the sayings of the authors, which they allege for their purpose; or else how false and deceitful they be, which willingly and wittingly have made in this one place, and as it were with one breath, two loud and shameful lies.

The first is, that because they would give the more authority to the words by them alleged, they (like false poticaries that sell *quid pro quo*) falsify the author's name, fathering such sayings upon Theophilus Alexandrinus, an old and ancient author, which were indeed none of his words, but were the words of Theophylactus, who was many years after Theophilus Alexandrinus^u. But such hath ever been the papistical subtleties, to set forth their own inventions, dreams, and lies, under the name of antiquity and ancient authors.

The second lie or falsehood is, that they falsify the author's words and meaning, subverting the truth of his doctrine. For where Theophylactus according to the catholic doctrine of ancient authors saith, that Almighty God, condescending to our infirmity, reserveth the kind of bread and wine, and yet turneth them into the virtue of Christ's flesh and blood; they say that he reserveth the forms and appearances of bread and wine, and turneth them into the verity of his flesh and blood, so turning and altering kinds into forms and appearances, and virtue into verity, that of the virtue of the flesh and blood they make the verity of his flesh and blood. And thus they have falsified as well the name as the words of Theophylactus, turning verity into plain and flat falsity.

^u [Theophilus was Bishop of Alexandria A. D. 385. Theophylact was Archbishop of Bulgaria A. D. 1077. His Commentary on the Gospels is a compilation from Chrysostom and others. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* Harles, vol. v. p. 287. Cave, *Hist. Liter.*]

But to set forth plainly the meaning of Theophylactus in this matter: as hot and burning iron is iron still, and yet hath the force of fire; and as the flesh of Christ, still remaining flesh, giveth life, as the flesh of him that is God; so the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their proper kinds; and yet to them that worthily eat and drink them, they be turned not into the corporal presence, but into the virtue of Christ's flesh and blood.

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XV.

And although Theophylactus spake of the eating of the very body of Christ, and the drinking of his very blood, (and not only of the figures of them,) and of the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet he meaneth not of a gross, carnal, corporal, and sensible conversion of the bread and wine, nor of a like eating and drinking of his flesh and blood; for so not only our stomachs would yearn and our hearts abhor to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, but also such eating and drinking could nothing profit or avail us: but he spake of the celestial and spiritual eating of Christ, and of a sacramental conversion of the bread, calling the bread not only a figure, but also the body of Christ, giving us by those words to understand, that in the sacrament we do not only eat corporally the bread, which is a sacrament and figure of Christ's body; but spiritually we eat also his very body, and drink his very blood. And this doctrine of Theophylactus is both true, godly, and comfortable.

Besides this, our adversaries do allege St. Hierome upon the Epistle *Ad Titum*, that "there is as great difference between the loaves called *panes propositionis*, and the body of Christ, as there is between a shadow of a body, and the body itself, and as there is between an image, and the thing itself, and between an example of things to come, and the things that be prefigured by them."

The answer
to Hierony-
mus, *Super*
Epist. ad
Titum.

These words of St. Hierome, truly understand, serve nothing for the intent of the papists. For he meant that the show-bread of the law was but a dark shadow of Christ to come; but the sacrament of Christ's body is a clear testimony that Christ is already come, and that he hath per-

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formed that which was promised, and doth presently comfort and feed us spiritually with his precious body and blood, notwithstanding that corporally he is ascended into heaven.

And the same is to be answered unto all that the adversaries bring of St. Augustine, Sedulius, Leo, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, Gregorius, and other, concerning the eating of Christ in the sacrament.

Which thing cannot be understood plainly as the words sound, but figuratively and spiritually, as before is sufficiently proved, and hereafter shall be more fully declared in the fourth part of this book.

But here John Damascene^x may in no wise be passed over, whom for his authority the adversaries of Christ's true natural body do reckon as a stout champion sufficient to defend all the whole matter alone. But neither is the authority of Damascene so great, that they may oppress us thereby, nor his words so plain for them, as they boast and untruly pretend. For he is but a young new author in the respect of those which we have brought in for our party. And in divers points he varieth from the most ancient authors, if he mean as they expound him; as when he saith, that the bread and wine be not figures, which all the old authors call figures, and that the bread and wine consume not, nor be avoided downward, which Origen and St. Augustine affirm, or that they be not called the examples of Christ's body after the consecration, which shall manifestly appear false by the Liturgy ascribed unto St. Basil.

And moreover the same Damascene was one of the Bishop of Rome's chief proctors against the emperors, and as it were his right hand, to set abroad all idolatry by his own handwriting. And therefore if he lost his hand, as they say he did, he lost it by God's most righteous judgment, whatsoever they feign and fable of the miraculous restitution of the same^y. And yet whatsoever the said

^x Damascenus, *De Fide Orth.* lib. iv. cap. 14.

^y [The story of its miraculous restoration is told by Gardyner, *Detection of the Devil's Sophistry*, f. 35.]

Damascene writeth in other matters, surely in this place which the adversaries do allege, he writeth spiritually and godly, although the papists either of ignorance mistake him, or else willingly wrest him and writhe him to their purpose, clean contrary to his meaning.

The sum of Damascene his doctrine in this matter is this. That as Christ, being both God and man, hath in him two natures; so hath he two nativities, one eternal and the other temporal. And so likewise we, being as it were double men, or having every one of us two men in us, the new man and the old man, the spiritual man and the carnal man, have a double nativity: one of our first carnal father, Adam, by whom, as by ancient inheritance, cometh unto us malediction and everlasting damnation; and the other of our heavenly Adam, that is to say, of Christ, by whom we be made heirs of celestial benediction and everlasting glory and immortality.

And because this Adam is spiritual, therefore our generation by him must be spiritual, and our feeding must be likewise spiritual. And our spiritual generation by him is plainly set forth in baptism, and our spiritual meat and food is set forth in the holy Communion and Supper of the Lord. And because our sights be so feeble that we cannot see the spiritual water wherewith we be washed in baptism, nor the spiritual meat wherewith we be fed at the Lord's table; therefore to help our infirmities, and to make us the better to see the same with a pure faith, our Saviour Christ hath set forth the same, as it were before our eyes, by sensible signs and tokens, which we be daily used and accustomed unto.

And because the common custom of men is to wash in water, therefore our spiritual regeneration in Christ, or spiritual washing in his blood, is declared unto us in baptism by water. Likewise our spiritual nourishment and feeding in Christ, is set before our eyes by bread and wine, because they be meats and drinks which chiefly and usually we be fed withal; that as they feed the body, so doth Christ with his flesh and blood spiritually feed the soul.

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And therefore the bread and wine be called examples of Christ's flesh and blood, and also they be called his very flesh and blood, to signify unto us, that as they feed us carnally, so do they admonish us that Christ with his flesh and blood doth feed us spiritually and most truly unto everlasting life.

And as Almighty God by his most mighty word and his Holy Spirit and infinite power brought forth all creatures in the beginning, and ever sithence hath preserved them; even so by the same word and power he worketh in us from time to time this marvellous spiritual generation and wonderful spiritual nourishment and feeding, which is wrought only by God, and is comprehended and received of us by faith.

And as bread and drink by natural nourishment be changed into a man's body, and yet the body is not changed, but the same that it was before; so although the bread and wine be sacramentally changed into Christ's body, yet his body is the same and in the same place that it was before, that is to say, in heaven, without any alteration of the same.

And the bread and wine be not so changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, that they be made one nature, but they remain still distinct in nature, so that the bread in itself is not his flesh, and the wine his blood, but unto them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, to them the bread and wine be his flesh and blood; that is to say, by things natural and which they be accustomed unto, they be exalted unto things above nature. For the sacramental bread and wine be not bare and naked figures, but so pithy and effectuous, that whosoever worthily eateth them, eateth spiritually Christ's flesh and blood, and hath by them everlasting life.

Wherefore whosoever cometh to the Lord's table, must come with all humility, fear, reverence, and purity of life, as to receive not only bread and wine, but also our Saviour Christ both God and man, with all his benefits, to the relief and sustentation both of their bodies and souls.

This is briefly the sum and true meaning of Damascene concerning this matter. CHAP.
XV.

Wherefore they that gather of him either the natural presence of Christ's body in the sacraments of bread and wine, or the adoration of the outward and visible sacrament, or that after the consecration there remaineth no bread nor wine nor other substance, but only the substance of the body and blood of Christ; either they understand not Damascene, or else of wilful frowardness they will not understand him; which rather seemeth to be true, by such collections as they have unjustly gathered and noted out of him.

For although he say, that Christ is the spiritual meat, yet as in baptism the Holy Ghost is not in the water, but in him that is unfeignedly baptized; so Damascene meant not, that Christ is in the bread, but in him that worthily eateth the bread.

And though he say, that the bread is Christ's body and the wine his blood, yet he meant not that the bread considered in itself, or the wine in itself being not received, is his flesh and blood; but to such as by unfeigned faith worthily receive the bread and wine, to such the bread and wine are called by Damascene the body and blood of Christ, because that such persons through the working of the Holy Ghost be so knit and united spiritually to Christ's flesh and blood, and to his Divinity also, that they be fed with them unto everlasting life.

Furthermore Damascene sayeth not, that the sacrament should be worshipped and adored, as the papists term it, which is plainly idolatry, but that we must worship Christ, God and man. And yet we may not worship him in bread and wine, but sitting in heaven with his Father, and being spiritually within ourselves.

Nor he sayeth not, that there remaineth no bread nor wine, nor none other substance, but only the substance of the body and blood of Christ; but he saith plainly, that as a burning coal is not wood only, but fire and wood joined together; so the bread of the communion is not bread only,

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but bread joined to the Divinity. But those that say, that there is none other substance but the substance of the body and blood of Christ, do not only deny that there is bread and wine, but by force they must deny also that there is either Christ's Divinity or his soul. For if the flesh and blood, the soul and Divinity of Christ be four substances, and in the sacrament be but two of them, that is to say, his flesh and blood, then where is his soul and Divinity? And thus these men divide Jesus, separating his Divinity from his humanity: of whom St. John saith, *Whosoever divideth Jesus is not of God, but he is Antichrist.*

And moreover these men do so separate Christ's body from his members in the sacrament, that they leave him no man's body at all. For as Damascene saith, that the distinction of members pertain so much to the nature of a man's body, that where there is no such distinction, there is no perfect man's body².

But by these papists' doctrine, there is no such distinction of members in the sacrament; for either there is no head, feet, hands, arms, legs, mouth, eyes, and nose at all; or else all is head, all feet, all hands, all arms, all legs, all mouth, all eyes, and all nose. And so they make of Christ's body no man's body at all.

Thus being confuted the papists' errors as well concerning transubstantiation, as the real, corporal, and natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, which were two principal points purposed in the beginning of this work: now it is time something to speak of the third error of the papists, which is concerning the eating of Christ's very body and drinking of his blood.

² In libro *De duabus in Christo Voluntatibus.*

THUS ENDETH THE THIRD BOOK.

*The Fourth Book is of the Eating and Drinking
of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ.*

THE gross error of the papists, is of the carnal eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood with our mouths. CHAP. I.

For they say, that whosoever eat and drink the sacraments of bread and wine, do eat and drink also with their mouths Christ's very flesh and blood, be they never so ungodly and wicked persons. But Christ himself taught clean contrary in the sixth of John, that we eat not him carnally with our mouths, but spiritually with our faith, saying, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in me, hath everlasting life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and died. This is the bread that came from heaven, that whosoever shall eat thereof, shall not die. I am the lively bread that came from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.*

This is the most true doctrine of our Saviour Christ, that whosoever eateth him, shall have everlasting life. And by and by it followeth in the same place of John more clearly: *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting, and I will raise him again at the last day: for my flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; even so he that eateth me, shall live by me. This is the bread which came down from heaven, not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead; he that eateth of this bread, shall live for ever.*

This taught our Saviour Christ as well his disciples as the Jews at Capernaum, that the eating of his flesh and

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drinking of his blood was not like to the eating of manna. For both good and bad did eat manna, but none do eat his flesh and drink his blood, but they have everlasting life. For as his Father dwelleth in him, and he in his Father, and so hath life by his Father: so he that eateth Christ's flesh and drinketh his blood, dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him, and by Christ he hath eternal life.

What need we any other witness? when Christ himself doth testify the matter so plainly, that whosoever eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood, hath everlasting life; and that to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, is to believe in him; and whosoever believeth in him, hath everlasting life. Whereof it followeth necessarily, that ungodly persons, being limbs of the Devil, do not eat Christ's flesh nor drink his blood: except the papists would say, that such have everlasting life.

But as the Devil is the food of the wicked, which he nourisheth in all iniquity, and bringeth up unto everlasting damnation: so is Christ the very food of all them that be the lively members of his body, and them he nourisheth, feedeth, bringeth up, and cherisheth unto everlasting life^a.

^a Aug. In Joān. Hom. 26. super hunc locum: *Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in deserto, et mortui sunt.* "Quantum, inquit, pertinet ad mortem istam visibilem et corporalem, numquid nos non morimur, qui manducamus panem de cœlo descendentem?" Et mox, "Quantum autem pertinet ad illam mortem de qua terret Dominus, quia mortui sunt patres istorum, manducavit manna et Moses, manducavit et Aaron, manducavit manna et Phinees, manducaverunt ibi multi, qui Domino placuerunt, et mortui non sunt. Quare? Quia visibilem cibum spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt, ut spiritualiter satiarentur. Nam et nos hodie accepimus visibilem cibum, sed aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti. Quam multi de altari accipiunt et moriuntur, et accipiendo moriuntur? Unde dicit Apostolus: (1 Cor. xi.) *Judicium sibi manducat et bibit.* Nonne buccella dominica venenum fuit Judæ? (John xiii.) Et tamen accepit, et cum accepit, in eum inimicus intravit, non quia malum accepit, sed quia bonum malus male accepit. Videte ergo, fratres, panem cœlestem spiritualiter manducate." Et mox: "*Patres vestri manna manducaverunt, et mortui sunt;* non quia malum erat manna, sed quia male manducaverunt. *Hic est panis qui de calo descendit,* hunc panem significavit manna, hunc panem significavit altare Dei. Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in signis diversa sunt, sed in re quæ significatur, paria sunt," &c. Et mox: "*Ut si quis manducaverit ex ipso non moriatur in æternum.* Sed quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile

And every good and faithful Christian man feeleth in himself how he feedeth of Christ, eating his flesh and drinking of his blood. For he putteth the whole hope and trust of his redemption and salvation in that only sacrifice, which Christ made upon the cross, having his body there broken, and his blood there shed for the remission of his sins. And this great benefit of Christ the faithful man earnestly considereth in his mind, chaweth and digesteth it with the stomach of his heart, spiritually receiving Christ wholly into him, and giving again himself wholly unto Christ.

CHAP.
II.

What is the eating of Christ's flesh, and drinking of his blood.

And this is the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, the feeling whereof is to every man the feeling how he eateth and drinketh Christ, which none evil man nor member of the Devil can do.

For as Christ is a spiritual meat, so is he spiritually eaten and digested with the spiritual part of us, and giveth us spiritual and eternal life, and is not eaten, swallowed, and digested with our teeth, tongues, throats, and bellies.

CHAP.
III.

Christ is not eaten with teeth, but with faith.

"Therefore," saith St. Cyprian^b, "*he that drinketh of the holy cup, remembering this benefit of God, is more thirsty than he was before.*" And lifting up his heart unto the living God, is taken with such a singular hunger and appetite, that *he abhorreth all gally and bitter drinks of sin*; and all savour of carnal pleasure is to him, as it were, sharp and sour vinegar. And the sinner being converted, receiving the holy mysteries of the Lord's Supper, giveth thanks unto God, and boweth down his head, knowing that his sins be forgiven, and that he is made clean and perfect; and his soul, which God hath sanctified, he rendereth to God again as a faithful pledge, and then he glorieth with Paul, and rejoiceth, saying, *Now it is not I that live, but it is Christ that liveth within me.* These things be practised and used among faithful people; and to pure minds the eating of his flesh is no

"sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente." EMBD.

^b Cyprianus, *De Cæna Domini*. [See note p. 323.]

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"horror but honour, and the spirit delighteth in the drinking of the holy and sanctifying blood. And doing this, *"we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we break the holy bread."* These be the words of Cyprian.

And according unto the same, St. Austen saith, "*Prepare not thy jaws, but thy heart.*" And in another place^d, he saith, "*Why dost thou prepare thy belly and thy teeth? believe, and thou hast eaten.*" But of this matter is sufficiently spoken before, where it is proved, that "to eat Christ's flesh" and "drink his blood" be figurative speeches^e.

CHAP.
IV.

The good
only eat
Christ.

And now to return to our purpose, that only the lively members of Christ do eat his flesh and drink his blood, I shall bring forth many other places of ancient authors before not mentioned.

First, Origen^f writeth plainly after this manner: "The Word was made flesh and very meat, which whoso eateth shall surely live for ever; *which no evil man can eat.* For if it could be that he that continueth evil might eat the Word made flesh, seeing that he is the Word and bread of life, it should not have been written, *Whosoever eateth this bread shall live for ever.*" These words be so plain, that I need say nothing for the more clear declaration of them. Wherefore you shall hear how Cyprian agreeth with him.

^c August. *De Verbis Domini, Serm. 33.*

^d *In Joan. Tract. 25.*

^e Aug. *In Joan. Tract. 26.* "Credere in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit in eum, manducat, invisibiliter saginatur, quia et invisibiliter renascitur. Infans intus est, novus intus est, ubi novellatur, ibi satiatur." Idem, *Psal. 21. in Expositione Prima*, "Sacramenta corporis et sanguinis mei reddam coram timentibus eum. *Edent pauperes et saturabuntur, edent humiles et contemptores seculi et imitabuntur.* Ita enim nec copiam hujus seculi concupiscent nec timebunt inopiam. *Et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum: nam laus Domini est eructatio saturitatis illius. Vivent corda eorum in seculum seculi; nam cibus ille cordis est.*"

Clemens Alexandrinus in *Pedagogo*, lib. ii. cap. 2. "Hoc est bibere Jesu sanguinem, esse participem incorruptionis Domini."

De Consecrat. dist. 2. "Utrum?" "Quia Christum fas vorari dentibus non est." &c. EMMD.

^f Origenes, *In Matt. cap. 15.*

Cyprian, in his Sermon ascribed unto him of the Lord's Supper^s, saith, "The author of this tradition said, that "except we eat his flesh and drink his blood we should "have no life in us; instructing us with a spiritual lesson, "and opening to us a way to understand so privy a thing, "that we should know that *the eating is our dwelling in* "him, and our drinking is as it were an incorporation in "him, being subject unto him in obedience, joined unto "him in our wills, and united in our affections. *The eating therefore of this flesh, is a certain hunger and desire* "to dwell in him."

Thus writeth Cyprian of the eating and drinking of Christ. And a little after he saith, that "none do eat "of this Lamb, but such as be true Israelites, that is to say, "pure Christian men, without colour or dissimulation."

And Athanasius^h, speaking of the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, saith, that "for this cause he "made mention of his ascension into heaven, to pluck them "from corporal phantasy, that they might learn hereafter "that his flesh was called the celestial meat that came from "above, and a *spiritual food* which he would give. For ^{John vi.} "those things that I speak to you, saith he, *be spirit* "and life. Which is as much to say, as that thing which "you see, shall be slain and given for the nourishment of "the world, that it may be distributed to every body *spiritually*, and be to all men a conservation unto the resurrection of eternal life."

In these words Athanasius declareth the cause why Christ made mention of his ascension into heaven, when he spake of the eating and drinking of his flesh and blood. The cause after Athanasius's mind was this, that his hearers should not think of any carnal eating of his body with their mouths; for as concerning the presence of his body, he should be taken from them, and ascend into heaven; but that they should understand him to be a spiritual meat, and spiritually to be eaten, and by that refreshing to give eter-

^s Cyprianus in *Sermo. de CENA Domini*. [See note p. 323.]

^h Athanasius, *De Peccato in Spiritum Sanctum*.

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nal life, which he doth to none but to such as be his lively members.

And of this eating speaketh also Basiliusⁱ, that “ we eat Christ’s flesh and drink his blood, being made, by his incarnation and sensible life, partakers of his word and wisdom. For his *flesh and blood he called all his mystical conversation here in his flesh and his doctrine*, consisting of his whole life, pertaining both to his humanity and Divinity, whereby the soul is nourished and brought to the contemplation of things eternal.”

Thus teacheth Basilius how we eat Christ’s flesh and drink his blood, which pertaineth only to the true and faithful members of Christ.

St. Hierome also saith^k, “ *All that love pleasure more than God, eat not the flesh of Jesu, nor drink his blood ; of the which himself saith, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.*”

And in another place^l, St. Hierome saith, that “ *heretics do not eat and drink the body and blood of the Lord.*”

And moreover he saith^m, that “ *heretics eat not the flesh of Jesu, whose flesh is the meat of faithful men.*”

Thus agreeth St. Hierome with the other before rehearsed, that heretics and such as follow worldly pleasures, eat not Christ’s flesh nor drink his blood, because that Christ said, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.*

And St. Ambrose saithⁿ, that “ Jesus is the bread which is the meat of saints ; and that he that taketh this bread, dieth not a sinner’s death ; for this bread is the remission of sins.”

And in another book to him entitled^o, he writeth thus : “ This bread of life which came from heaven, doth minister everlasting life, and *whosoever eateth this bread shall not die for ever, and is the body of Christ.*”

ⁱ Basilius, *Epistola* 141.

^l In *Hieremiam*, cap. 22.

ⁿ Ambrosius, *De Benedictione Patriarcharum*, cap. 9.

^o *De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur*. [See note p. 326.]

^k Hieronymus In *Esaiam*, cap. 66.

^m In *Oseam*, cap. 8.

And yet in another book^p set forth in his name, he saith on this wise: "He that did eat manna died, but *he that eateth this body shall have remission of his sins, and shall not die for ever.*"

And again he saith^q, "*As often as thou drinkest, thou hast remission of thy sins.*"

These sentences of St. Ambrose be so plain in this matter, that there needeth no more but only the rehearsal of them.

But St. Augustine in many places plainly discussing this matter, saith^r: "*He that agreeth not with Christ, doth neither eat his body nor drink his blood, although to the condemnation of his presumption he receive every day the sacrament of so high a matter.*"

And moreover St. Augustine most plainly resolveth this matter in his book *De Civitate Dei*^s, disputing against two kinds of heretics: Whereof the one said, that as many as were christened and received the sacrament of Christ's body and blood should be saved, howsoever they lived or believed; because that Christ said, *This is the bread that* John vi. *came from heaven; that whosoever shall eat thereof shall not die. I am the bread of life, which came from heaven; whosoever shall eat of this bread, shall live for ever.* Therefore, said these heretics, all such men must needs be delivered from eternal death, and at length be brought to eternal life. The other said, that *heretics and schismatics might eat the sacrament of Christ's body, but not his very body; because they be no members of his body.* And therefore they promised not everlasting life to all that received Christ's baptism and the sacrament of his body, but to all such as professed a true faith, although they lived never so ungodly. For such, said they, do eat the body of Christ, not only in a sacrament but also in deed, because they be members of Christ's body.

But St. Augustine, answering to both these heresies, saith, that neither heretics, nor such as profess a true faith in their

^p *De Sacramentis*, lib. iv. cap. 5.

^q Lib. v. cap. 3.

^r *Lib. Sentent. Prosperi ex Augustino*, cap. 339.

^s *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 25.

BOOK
IV.
Gal. v.

mouths and in their living show the contrary, have either a true faith which worketh by charity and doth none evil, or are to be counted among the members of Christ. For they cannot be both members of Christ and members of the Devil. "Therefore," saith he, "*it may not be said, that any of them eat the body of Christ.*" "For when Christ saith, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him*; he showeth what it is, not sacramentally, but in deed, to eat his body and drink his blood: which is, when a man dwelleth so in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For Christ spake those words, as if he should say, *He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say or think, that he eateth my body or drinketh my blood.*"

These be the plain words of St. Augustine, that such as live ungodly, although they may seem to eat Christ's body, because they eat the sacrament of his body, yet in deed they neither be members of his body, nor do eat his body.

Also upon the Gospel of St. John^u he saith, that "he that doth not eat his flesh and drink his blood, hath not in him everlasting life. And he that eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood, hath everlasting life. But it is not so in those meats which we take to sustain our bodies; for although without them we cannot live, yet it is not necessary that whosoever receiveth them shall live, for they may die by age, sickness, or other chances.

"But in this meat and drink of the body and blood of our Lord, it is otherwise; for both they that eat and

^t "Qui ergo est," inquit [Augustinus], "in corporis Christi unitate, id est, in Christianorum compage membrorum (cujus corporis sacramentum fideles communicantes de altari sumere consueverunt) ipse vere dicendus est manducare corpus Christi et bibere sanguinem Christi. Ac per hoc heretici et schismatici, ab hujus unitate corporis separati, possunt idem percipere sacramentum, sed non sibi utile, immo vero etiam noxium." Et mox: "Recte intelligunt non dicendum eum manducare corpus Christi, qui in corpore non est Christi." Et mox: "Nec isti, ergo, dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. Ut enim alia taceam, non possunt simul esse et membra Christi, et membra meretricis. Denique ipse dicens: *Qui manducat*," &c. EMBD.

^u In Joan. Tract. 26.

“ drink them not have not everlasting life: *and contrari-* CHAP.
 “ *wise, whosoever eat and drink them have everlasting* IV.
 “ *life*.”

Note and ponder well these words of St. Augustine, that the bread and wine and other meats and drinks which nourish the body, a man may eat, and nevertheless die; but the very body and blood of Christ no man eateth but that hath everlasting life. So that wicked men cannot eat nor drink them, for then they must needs have by them everlasting life.

And in the same place St. Augustine saith further:
 “ The sacrament of the unity of Christ’s body and blood
 “ is taken in the Lord’s table of some men to life, and of
 “ some men to death; but *the thing itself*, whereof it is a
 “ sacrament, *is taken of all men to life, and of no man to*
 “ *death.*” And moreover he saith, “ This is to eat that
 “ meat and drink that drink, to dwell in Christ and to
 “ have Christ dwelling in him. And for that cause, *he that*
 “ *delleth not in Christ, and in whom Christ dwelleth not,*
 “ *without doubt he eateth not spiritually his flesh, nor drink-*
 “ *eth his blood,* although carnally and visibly with his teeth
 “ he bite the sacrament of his body and bloody.”

Thus writeth St. Augustine in the twenty-sixth Homily of St. John. And in the next Homily following² he writeth thus: “ This day our sermon is of the body of the Lord,
 “ which he said he would give to eat for eternal life. And
 “ he declared the manner of his gift and distribution, how
 “ he would give his flesh to eat, saying, *He that eateth my* John vi.
 “ *flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in*
 “ *him. This therefore is a token or knowledge, that a man*

* Et mox: “ Hunc itaque cibum et potum societatem vult intelligi
 “ corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est sancta Ecclesia in prædes-
 “ tinatis et vocatis et justificatis et glorificatis sanctis et fidelibus
 “ ejus.” Et mox: “ Hujus rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis
 “ et sanguinis Christi, alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum,
 “ in Dominica mensa præparatur, et de mensa Dominica sumitur qui-
 “ busdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium,” &c. EMBD.

¹ “ Sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad iudicium sibi manducat.”
 EMBD.

² In Joan. Tract. 27.

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"hath eaten and drunken, that is to say, if he dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in him ; if he cleave so to Christ, that he is not severed from him. This therefore Christ taught and admonished by these mystical or figurative words, that we should be in his body under him our head among his members, eating his flesh, not forsaking his unity."

And in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*^a, St. Augustine saith, (as before is at length declared,) that *"to eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood, is a figurative speech, signifying the participation of his passion, and the delectable remembrance to our benefit and profit, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."*

And in another Sermon also, *De Verbis Apostolicis*^c, he expoundeth what is the eating of Christ's body, and the drinking of his blood, saying, *"The eating is to be refreshed, and the drinking, what is it but to live? Eat life, drink life. And that shall be, when that which is taken visibly in the sacrament, is in very deed eaten spiritually and drunken spiritually."*

By all these sentences of St. Augustine, it is evident and manifest, that all men, good and evil, may with their mouths visibly and sensibly eat the sacrament of Christ's body and blood ; but the very body and blood themselves be not eaten but spiritually, and that of the spiritual members of Christ, which dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them, by whom they be refreshed, and have everlasting life.

And therefore, saith St. Augustine^d, that when the other Apostles did eat bread that was the Lord, yet *Judas did eat but the bread of the Lord, and not the bread that was the Lord*. So that the other Apostles, with the sacramental bread, did eat also Christ himself, whom Judas did not eat. And a great number of places mo hath St. Augustine^e for this purpose, which for eschewing of tediousness I let pass for this time, and will speak something of St. Cyril.

^a *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. 14.

^c *De Verbis Apostolicis*, Serm. 2.

^d In Joan. Tract. 59.

^e August. In Psal. 21, in Expositione 2^{da}. *"Vota mea reddam coram*

Cyril, upon St. John in his Gospel^f, saith, that “those which eat manna died, because they received thereby no strength to live ever, (for it gave no life, but only put away bodily hunger;) but *they that receive the bread of life shall be made immortal, and shall eschew all the evils that pertain to death, living with Christ for ever.*” And in another places he saith: “*Forasmuch as the flesh of Christ doth naturally give life, therefore it maketh them to live that be partakers of it. For it putteth death away from them,* and utterly driveth destruction out of them.”

And he concludeth the matter shortly in another place^h in few words, saying, that “*when we eat the flesh of our Saviour, then have we life in us.* For if things that were corrupt were restored by only touching of his clothes, *how can it be that we shall not live that eat his flesh?*” And furtherⁱ he saith, that “as two waxes that be molten together do run every part into other, so *he that receiveth Christ's flesh and blood must needs be joined so with him, that Christ must be in him, and he in Christ.*”

“timentibus eum. Quæ sunt vota sua? Sacrificium quod obtulit Deo. Nostis quale sacrificium? Norunt fideles vota quæ reddit coram timentibus eum. Nam sequitur: Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur. Beati pauperes, quia ideo edunt, ut saturentur. Edunt enim pauperes, qui autem divites sunt, non satiantur, quia non esuriunt. Comedent pauperes, inde erat piscator ille Petrus, inde erat alius piscator Joannes, et Jacobus frater ipsius, inde erat etiam publicanus Matthæus de pauperibus. Ipsi erant, qui comederunt et saturati sunt, talia passi, qualia manducaverunt. Cœnam suam dedit, passionem suam dedit. Ille saturatur qui imitatur. Imitati sunt pauperes, ipsi enim sic passi sunt, ut Christi vestigia sequerentur.” &c. Et mox: Sacrificium pacis, sacrificium charitatis, sacrificium corporis sui norunt fideles, disputari inde modo non potest. Vota mea reddam coram timentibus eum. Edant publicani, edant piscatores, manducant, imitentur Dominum, patiantur, saturentur.”

Idem, *De Verbis Domini, Sermon. 53.* “Quicumque in corpore ejus et membrorum ejus esse voluerit, non miretur quia odit eum mundus. Corporis autem ejus sacramentum multi accipiunt, sed non omnes qui accipiunt sacramentum, habituri sunt apud eum etiam locum promissum membris ejus. Pene quidem sacramentum omnes corpus ejus dicunt, quia omnes in pascuis ejus simul pascunt, sed venturus est, qui dividat, et alios povat ad dexteram, alios ad sinistram.”

Beda, in *Homilia quadam Paschali.* “Aderit nobis Christus in fractione panis, cum sacramenta corporis ejus, videlicet, panis et vini, casta et simplici conscientia sumimus.” *EMBD.*

^f Cyrillus, *In Joan. lib. iv. cap. 10.*

^h Cap. 14.

^g Cap. 12.

ⁱ Cap. 17.

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Here St. Cyril declareth the dignity of Christ's flesh, being inseparably annexed unto his Divinity, saying, that it is of such force and power, that it giveth everlasting life. And whatsoever occasion of death it findeth, or let of eternal life, it putteth out and driveth clean away all the same from them that eat that meat and receive that medicine. Other medicines or plasters sometimes heal, and sometimes heal not ; but this medicine is of that effect and strength, that it eateth away all rotten and dead flesh, and perfectly healeth all wounds and sores that it is laid unto.

This is the dignity and excellency of Christ's flesh and blood joined to his Divinity ; of the which dignity Christ's adversaries, the papists, deprive and rob him, when they affirm that such men do eat his flesh and receive this plaster, as remain still sick and sore, and be not holpen thereby.

CHAP.
V.

And now for corroboration of Cyril's saying, I would thus reason with the papists, and demand of them : When an unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, whether he have Christ's body within him or no ?

If they say no, then have I my purpose, that evil men, although they receive the sacrament of Christ's body, yet receive they not his very body. If they say yea, then I would ask them further : Whether they have Christ's Spirit within them or no ?

If they say nay, then do they separate Christ's body from his Spirit, and his humanity from his Divinity, and be condemned by the Scripture as very Antichrists that divide Christ.

And if they say yea, that a wicked man hath Christ's Spirit in him, then the Scripture also condemneth them, saying, that as he which hath no Spirit of Christ's is none of his ; so he that hath Christ in him, liveth, because he is justified. And, *If his Spirit that raised Jesus from death dwell in you, he that raised Christ from death shall give life to your mortal bodies for his Spirit's sake which dwelleth in you.*

Thus on every side the Scripture condemneth the adversaries of God's word.

And this wickedness of the papists is to be wondered at, that they affirm Christ's flesh, blood, soul, holy Spirit, and his Deity to be in a man that is subject to sin and a limb of the Devil. They be wonderful jugglers and conjurers, that with certain words can make God and the Devil to dwell together in one man, and make him both the temple of God and the temple of the Devil. It appeareth that they be so blind, that they cannot see the light from darkness, Belial from Christ, nor the table of the Lord from the table of devils.

CHAP.
V.

Thus is confuted this third intolerable error and heresy of the papists, that they which be the limbs of the Devil do eat the very body of Christ and drink his blood, manifestly and directly contrary to the words of Christ himself, who saith, *Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.*

But lest they should seem to have nothing to say for themselves, they allege St. Paul, in the eleventh to the Corinthians, where he saith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, not discerning the Lord's body.*

CHAP.
VI.

The answer
to the pa-
pists.
1 Cor. xi.

But St. Paul in that place speaketh of the eating of the bread and drinking of the wine, and not of the corporal eating of Christ's flesh and blood, as it is manifest to every man that will read the text: for these be the words of St. Paul: *Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread, and drink of the cup; for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation, not discerning the Lord's body.*

In these words St. Paul's mind is, that forasmuch as the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper do represent unto us the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, by his own institution and ordinance; therefore, although he sit in heaven at his Father's right hand, yet should we come to this mystical bread and wine with faith, reverence, purity, and fear, as we would do, if we should come to see and receive Christ himself sensibly present. For unto the faithful, Christ is at his own holy table present with his mighty Spirit

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IV.

and grace, and is of them more fruitfully received, than if corporally they should receive him bodily present. And therefore they that shall worthily come to this God's board, must after due trial of themselves consider, first who ordained this table, also what meat and drink they shall have that come thereto, and how they ought to behave themselves thereat. He that prepared the table is Christ himself. The meat and drink wherewith he feedeth them that come thereto as they ought to do, is his own body, flesh, and blood. They that come thereto must occupy their minds in considering, how his body was broken for them, and his blood shed for their redemption. And so ought they to approach to this heavenly table with all humbleness of heart, and godliness of mind, as to the table wherein Christ himself is given. And they that come otherwise to this holy table, they come unworthily, and do not eat and drink Christ's flesh and blood, but eat and drink their own damnation; because they do not duly consider Christ's very flesh and blood, which be offered there spiritually to be eaten and drunken, but despising Christ's most holy Supper, do come thereto as it were to other common meats and drinks, without regard of the Lord's body, which is the spiritual meat of that table.

CHAP.
VII.

The answer
to the pa-
pists' au-
thors.

But here may not be passed over the answer unto certain places of ancient authors, which at the first show seem to make for the papists' purpose, that evil men do eat and drink the very flesh and blood of Christ. But if those places be truly and thoroughly weighed, it shall appear that not one of them maketh for their error, that evil men do eat Christ's very body.

The first place is of St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*^k, where he saith, that "although Christ himself say, *He that eateth not my flesh, and drinketh not my blood, shall not have life in him*: yet doth not his *Apostles teach that the same is pernicious to them which use it not well?* for he saith, *Whosoever eateth the bread*

^k Augustinus, *Contra Cresconium*, lib. i. cap. 25.

“and drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be
“guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.”

CHAP.
VII.

In which words St. Augustine seemeth to conclude, that as well the evil as the good do eat the body and blood of Christ, although the evil have no benefit, but hurt thereby.

But consider the place of St. Augustine diligently, and then it shall evidently appear, that he meant not of the eating of Christ's body, but of the sacrament thereof. For the intent of St. Augustine there is to prove, that good things avail not to such persons as do evil use them; and that many things which of themselves be good, and be good to some, yet to other some they be not good. As the light is good for whole eyes, and hurteth sore eyes; that meat which is good for some, is ill for other some; one medicine healeth some, and maketh other sick; one harness doth arm one, and cumbreth another; one coat is meet for one, and too strait for another. And after other examples, at the last St. Augustine sheweth the same to be true in the sacraments both of baptism and of the Lord's body, which, he saith, do profit only them that receive the same worthily.

And the words of St. Paul, which St. Augustine citeth, do speak of the sacramental bread and cup, and not of the body and blood. And yet St. Augustine calleth the bread and the cup, the flesh and blood; not that they be so indeed, but that they so signify: as he saith in another place, *Contra Maximinum*¹. “In sacraments,” saith he, “is to be considered, not what they be, but what they show; for they be signs of other things, being one thing, and signifying another.”

Therefore, as in baptism, those that come feignedly and those that come unfeignedly, both be washed with the sacramental water, but both be not washed with the Holy Ghost, and clothed with Christ; so, in the Lord's Supper, both eat and drink the sacramental bread and wine, but both eat not Christ himself, and be fed with his flesh and blood, but those only which worthily receive the sacrament.

¹ *Contra Maximinum*, lib. iii. cap. 22.

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IV.

And this answer will serve to another place^m of St. Augustine against the Donatists, where he saith, that "*Judas received the body and blood of the Lord.*" For as St. Augustine in that place speaketh of the sacrament of baptism, so doth he speak of the sacrament of the body and blood, which nevertheless he calleth the body and blood, because they signify and represent unto us the very body, flesh, and blood.

CHAP.
VIII.

Figures be
called by
the names
of the
things
which they
signify.

And, as before is at length declared, a figure hath the name of the thing that is signified thereby. As a man's image is called a man, a lion's image a lion, a bird's image a bird, and an image of a tree and herb is called a tree or herb. So were we wont to say, our lady of Walsingham, our lady of Ipswich, our lady of Grace, our lady of Pity, St. Peter of Milan, St. John of Amyas, and such like, not meaning the things themselves, but calling their images by the name of the things by them represented. And likewise we were wont to say, Great St. Christopher of York or Lincoln; our lady smileth, or rocketh her child; let us go in pilgrimage to St. Peter at Rome, and St. James in Compostella; and a thousand like speeches, which were not understand of the very things, but only of the images of them.

So doth St. John Chrysostome say, that we see Christ with our eyes, touch him, feel him, and grope him with our hands, fix our teeth in his flesh, taste it, break it, eat it, and digest it, make red our tongues and dye them with his blood, and swallow it, and drink it.

And in a Catechism by me translated, and set forth, I used like manner of speech, saying, that with our bodily mouths we receive the body and blood of Christ. Which my saying, divers^o ignorant persons (not used to read old

^m *De Baptism. contra Donat. lib. v. cap. 8.*

^o [Smythe probably was the person pointed at, (see Cranmer's *Answer to his Preface*;) but the remark may also be applied to Gardyner, who in his *Explication* repeatedly urged the inconsistency between the doctrines of the *Catechism* and of the *Defence*; and to Martyn, who brought forward a similar charge upon his Examination of Cranmer at Oxford in 1555. See the Archbishop's justification in his *Answers to*

ancient authors, nor acquainted with their phrase and manner of speech) did carp and reprehend, for lack of good understanding. CHAP. VIII.

For this speech and other before rehearsed of Chrysostome, and all other like, be not understand of the very flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ, which in very deed we neither feel nor see, but that which we do to the bread and wine, by a figurative speech is spoken to be done to the flesh and blood, because they be the very signs, figures, and tokens instituted of Christ, to represent unto us his very flesh and blood.

And yet as with our corporal eyes, corporal hands, and mouths, we do corporally see, feel, taste, and eat the bread and drink the wine, being the signs and sacraments of Christ's body, even so with our spiritual eyes, hands, and mouths, we do spiritually see, feel, taste, and eat his very flesh and drink his very blood.

As Eusebius Emissenus saith^p, "When thou comest to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats, with thy faith look upon the body and blood of him that is thy God, honour him, touch him with thy mind, take him with the hand of thy heart, and drink him with the draught of thine inward man." And these spiritual things require no corporal presence of Christ himself, who sitteth continually in heaven, at the right hand of his Father.

And as this is most true, so it is full and sufficient to answer all things that the papists can bring in this matter, that hath any appearance for their party.

Now it is requisite to speak something of the manner and form of worshipping of Christ, by them that receive this sacrament, lest that in the stead of Christ himself be worshipped the sacrament. For as his humanity, joined to his Divinity, and exalted to the right hand of his Father, is to CHAP. IX.

Gardynner, and Smythe, and in his Examination before Brokes. This whole clause is omitted in the translation printed at Embden, in 1557: probably because it was thought unnecessary to weary continental readers with English disputes.]

^p Eusebius Emissenus, in *Serm. de Eucharistia*.

The adoration in the sacrament.

BOOK
IV.

be worshipped of all creatures in heaven, earth, and under the earth: even so, if in the stead thereof we worship the signs and sacraments, we commit as great idolatry as ever was, or shall be to the world's end⁹.

The simple
people be
deceived.

And yet have the very Antichrists, the subtlest enemies that Christ hath, by their fine inventions and crafty scholastical divinity, deluded many simple souls, and brought them to this horrible idolatry, to worship things visible and made with their own hands, persuading them that creatures were their Creator, their God, and their Maker.

For else what made the people to run from their seats to the altar, and from altar to altar, and from sacring, as they called it, to sacring, peeping, tooting, and gazing at that thing which the priest held up in his hands, if they thought not to honour that thing which they saw? What moved the priests to lift up the sacrament so high over their heads? or the people to cry to the priest, 'Hold up, hold up;' and one man to say to another, 'Stoop down before;' or to say, 'This day have I seen my Maker;' and, 'I cannot be quiet except I see my Maker once a day?' What was the cause of all these, and that as well the priest as the people so devoutly did knock and kneel at every sight of the sacrament, but that they worshipped that visible thing which they saw with their eyes, and took it for very God? For if they worshipped in spirit only Christ, sitting in heaven with his Father, what needed they to remove out of their seats to toot and gaze, as the Apostles did after Christ when he was gone up into heaven? If they worshipped nothing that they saw, why did they rise up to see? Doubtless many of the simple people worshipped that thing which they saw with their eyes.

And although the subtle papists do colour and cloak the matter never so finely, saying, that they worship not the sacraments which they see with their eyes, but that thing which they believe with their faith to be really and corporally in the sacraments, yet why do they then run from place to place to gaze at the things which they see, if they

⁹ De adoratione lege Roffen. et (Ecolamp. lib. iii. cap. 4, and 5. [1580.]

worship them not, giving thereby occasion to them that be ignorant, to worship that which they see? Why do they not rather quietly sit still in their seats, and move the people to do the like, worshipping God in heart and in spirit, than to gad about from place to place, to see that thing which they confess themselves is not to be worshipped?

And yet to eschew one inconvenience, that is to say, the worshipping of the sacrament, they fall into another as evil, and worship nothing there at all. For they worship that thing, as they say, which is really and corporally and yet invisibly present under the kinds of bread and wine, which, as before is expressed and proved, is utterly nothing. And so they give unto the ignorant occasion to worship bread and wine, and they themselves worship nothing there at all.

But the papists, for their own commodity, to keep the people still in idolatry, do often allege a certain place¹ of St. Augustine upon the Psalms, where he saith, that "*no man doth eat the flesh of Christ, except he first worship it,*" and that "*we do not offend in worshipping thereof, but we should offend if we should not worship it.*"

That is true which St. Augustine saith in this place. For who is he that professeth Christ, and is spiritually fed and nourished with his flesh and blood, but he will honour and worship him, sitting at the right hand of his Father, and render unto him, from the bottom of his heart, all laud, praise, and thanks, for his merciful redemption?

And as this is most true which St. Augustine saith, so is that most false which the papists would persuade upon St. Augustine's words, that the sacramental bread and wine, or any visible thing, is to be worshipped in the sacrament. For St. Augustine's mind was so far from any such thought, that he forbiddeth utterly to worship Christ's own flesh and blood alone, but in consideration, and as they be annexed and joined to his Divinity. How much less then could he think or allow that we should worship the sacramental bread and wine, or any outward or visible sacrament, which

¹ August. In Psal. xcvi.

BOOK IV. be shadows, figures, and representations of Christ's very flesh and blood !

And St. Augustine was afraid, lest in worshipping of Christ's very body we should offend ; and therefore he bid-deth us, when we worship Christ, that we should not tarry and fix our minds upon his flesh, which of itself availeth nothing, but that we should lift up our minds from the flesh to the Spirit which giveth life : and yet the papists be not afraid, by crafty means, to induce us to worship those things which be signs and sacraments of Christ's body.

But what will not the shameless papists allege for their purpose, when they be not ashamed to maintain the adoration of the sacrament by these words of St. Augustine, wherein he speaketh not one word of the adoration of the sacrament, but only of Christ himself ?

And although he say, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten of us, yet he meant not that his flesh is here corporally present and corporally eaten, but only spiritually. As his words declare plainly which follow in the same place, where St. Augustine, as it were in the person of Christ, speaketh these words : " It is the Spirit that giveth life, but *" the flesh profiteth nothing. The words which I have spoken unto you, be spirit and life. That which I have spoken, understand you spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have commended unto you a sacrament, understand it spiritually, and it shall give you life. And although it must be visibly ministered, yet it must be invisibly understand."*

These words of St. Augustine, with the other before recited, do express his mind plainly, that Christ is not otherwise to be eaten than spiritually, which spiritual eating requireth no corporal presence ; and that he intended not to teach here any adoration either of the visible sacraments, or of any thing that is corporally in them. For indeed there is nothing really and corporally in the bread to be worshipped, although the papists say, that Christ is in every consecrated bread.

But our Saviour Christ himself hath given us warning beforehand, that such false Christians and false teachers should come, and hath bid us to beware of them, saying, If any man tell you that Christ is here, or Christ is there, believe him not; *for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show many signs and wonders, so that if it were possible, the very elect should be brought into error. Take heed, I have told you beforehand.*

CHAP.
IX.

Matt. xxiv.
Mark xiii.
Luke xvii.

Thus our Saviour Christ, like a most loving Pastor and Saviour of our souls, hath given us warning beforehand of the perils and dangers that were to come, and to be wise and ware, that we should not give credit unto such teachers as would persuade us to worship a piece of bread, to kneel to it, to knock to it, to creep to it, to follow it in procession, to lift up our hands to it, to offer to it, to light candles to it, to shut it up in a chest or box, to do all other honour unto it, more than we do unto God; having alway this pretence or excuse for our idolatry, 'Behold, here is Christ.' But our Saviour Christ calleth them false prophets, and saith, *Take heed, I tell you before, believe them not: if they say to you, Behold, Christ is abroad, or in the wilderness, go not out; and if they say that he is kept in close places, believe them not.*

CHAP.
X.

And if you will ask me the question, who be those false prophets and seducers of the people, the answer is soon made; the Romish Antichrists and their adherents, the authors of all error, ignorance, blindness, superstition, hypocrisy, and idolatry.

They be the
papists that
have de-
ceived the
people.
Innocentius
Tertius.

For Innocentius the Third, one of the most wicked men that ever was in the see of Rome, did ordain and decree that the host should be diligently kept under lock and key.

And Honorius the Third not only confirmed the same, but commanded also that the priests should diligently teach the people from time to time, that when they lifted up the bread called the *Host*, the people should then reverently bow down, and that likewise they should do, when the priest carrieth the Host unto sick folks. These be the statutes

Honorius
Tertius.

BOOK
IV.

CHAP.
XI.

An exhortation to the true honouring of Christ in the sacrament.

and ordinances of Rome, under pretence of holiness, to lead the people unto all error and idolatry; not bringing them by bread unto Christ, but from Christ unto bread.

But all that love and believe Christ himself, let them not think that Christ is corporally in the bread, but let them lift up their hearts unto heaven, and worship him sitting there at the right hand of his Father. Let them worship him in themselves, whose temples they be, in whom he dwelleth and liveth spiritually: but in no wise let them worship him as being corporally in the bread; for he is not in it, neither spiritually, as he is in man; nor corporally, as he is in heaven; but only sacramentally, as a thing may be said to be in the figure, whereby it is signified.

Thus is sufficiently reprov'd the third principal error of the papists, concerning the Lord's Supper, which is, that wicked members of the Devil do eat Christ's very body, and drink his blood.

THUS ENDETH THE FOURTH BOOK.

*The Fifth Book is of the Oblation and Sacrifice
of our Saviour Christ.*

THE greatest blasphemy and injury that can be against Christ, and yet universally used through the popish kingdom, is this, that the priests make their mass a sacrifice propitiatory, to remit the sins as well of themselves as of other, both quick and dead, to whom they list to apply the same. Thus, under pretence of holiness, the papistical priests have taken upon them to be Christ's successors, and to make such an oblation and sacrifice as never creature made but Christ alone, neither he made the same any more times than once, and that was by his death upon the cross. CHAP. I.

For as St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews witnesseth, *Although the high priests of the old law offered many times, at the least every year once, yet Christ offereth not himself many times, for then he should many times have died: but now he offereth himself but once, to take away sin by that offering of himself. And as men must die once, so was Christ offered once, to take away the sins of many.* CHAP. II.

And furthermore St. Paul saith, that *the sacrifices of the old law, although they were continually offered from year to year, yet could they not take away sin, nor make men perfect. For if they could once have quieted men's consciences by taking away sin, they should have ceased, and no more have been offered. But Christ, with once offering, hath made perfect for ever them that be sanctified; putting their sins clean out of God's remembrance. And where remission of sins is, there is no more offering for sin.* The difference between the sacrifice of Christ, and of the priests of the old law. Heb. ix. Heb. x.

And yet further he saith, concerning the old testament, that *it was disannulled and taken away, because of the feebleness and unprofitableness thereof; for it brought nothing to perfection. And the priests of that law were many, because they lived not long, and so the priesthood went from* Heb. vii.

BOOK
V.

one to another ; but Christ liveth ever, and hath an everlasting priesthood, that passeth not from him to any man else. Wherefore he is able perfectly to save them that come to God by him, forasmuch as he liveth ever to make intercession for us. For it was meet for us to have such an High Priest that is holy, innocent, without spot, separated from sinners, and exalted up above heaven ; who needeth not daily to offer up sacrifice, as Aaron's priests did, first for his own sins, and then for the people. For that he did once, when he offered up himself.

Here, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul hath plainly and fully described unto us the difference between the priesthood and sacrifices of the old testament, and the most high and worthy priesthood of Christ, his most perfect and necessary sacrifice, and the benefit that cometh to us thereby.

For Christ offered not the blood of calves, sheep, and goats, as the priests of the old law used to do ; but he offered his own blood upon the cross. And he went not into an holy place made by man's hand, as Aaron did, but he ascended up into heaven, where his eternal Father dwelleth ; and before him he maketh continual supplication for the sins of the whole world, presenting his own body, which was torn for us, and his precious blood, which of his most gracious and liberal charity he shed for us upon the cross.

And that sacrifice was of such force, that it was no need to renew it every year, as the bishops did of the old testament ; whose sacrifices were many times offered, and yet were of no great effect or profit, because they were sinners themselves that offered them, and offered not their own blood, but the blood of brute beasts ; but Christ's sacrifice, once offered, was sufficient for evermore.

CHAP.
III.

Two kinds
of sacrifices.

And that all men may the better understand this sacrifice of Christ, which he made for the great benefit of all men, it is necessary to know the distinction and diversity of sacrifices.

One kind of sacrifice there is, which is called a propitiatory or merciful sacrifice, that is to say, such a sacrifice

as pacifieth God's wrath and indignation, and obtaineth mercy and forgiveness for all our sins, and is the ransom for our redemption from everlasting damnation. CHAP. III.

And although in the old testament there were certain sacrifices called by that name, yet in very deed there is but one such sacrifice whereby our sins be pardoned and God's mercy and favour obtained, which is the death of the Son of God our Lord Jesu Christ; nor never was any other sacrifice propitiatory at any time, nor never shall be. The sacrifice of Christ.

This is the honour and glory of this our High Priest, wherein he admitteth neither partner nor successor. For by his one oblation he satisfied his Father for all men's sins, and reconciled mankind unto his grace and favour. And whosoever deprive him of this honour, and go about to take it to themselves, they be very Antichrists, and most arrogant blasphemers against God and against his Son Jesus Christ whom he hath sent.

Another kind of sacrifice there is, which doth not reconcile us to God, but is made of them that be reconciled by Christ, to testify our duties unto God, and to show ourselves thankful unto him; and therefore they be called sacrifices of laud, praise, and thanksgiving. The sacrifices of the Church.

The first kind of sacrifice Christ offered to God for us; the second kind we ourselves offer to God by Christ.

And by the first kind of sacrifice Christ offered also us unto his Father; and by the second we offer ourselves and all that we have, unto him and his Father.

And this sacrifice generally is our whole obedience unto God, in keeping his laws and commandments. Of which manner of sacrifice speaketh the prophet David, saying, *A Psal. i. sacrifice to God is a contrite heart.* And St. Peter saith of all Christian people, that *they be an holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesu Christ.* And St. Paul saith, that *alway we offer unto God a sacrifice of laud and praise by Jesus Christ.* Pet. ii. Heb. xiii.

But now to speak somewhat more largely of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ: he was such an high Bishop, that he once offering himself, was sufficient by one effusion CHAP. IV.

A more plain declaration.

- BOOK of his blood to abolish sin unto the world's end. He was
 V. so perfect a Priest, that by one oblation he purged an in-
 finite heap of sins, leaving an easy and a ready remedy for
 all sinners, that his one sacrifice should suffice for many
 years unto all men that would not show themselves un-
 worthy. And he took unto himself not only their sins that
 many years before were dead and put their trust in him,
 but also the sins of those that until his coming again should
 truly believe in his Gospel. So that now we may look for
 none other priest, nor sacrifice, to take away our sins, but
 only him and his sacrifice. And as he, dying once, was of-
 fered for all, so, as much as pertained to him, he took all
 men's sins unto himself. So that now there remaineth no
 mo sacrifices for sin, but extreme judgment at the last
 day, when he shall appear to us again, not as a man to be
 punished again, and to be made a sacrifice for our sins, as
 he was before ; but he shall come in his glory, without sin,
 to the great joy and comfort of them which be purified and
 made clean by his death, and continue in godly and inno-
 cent living ; and to the great terror and dread of them that
 be wicked and ungodly.
- Heb. ix. Thus the Scripture teacheth, that if Christ had made any
 oblation for sin more than once, he should have died more
 than once ; forasmuch as there is none oblation and sacrifice
 for sin, but only his death. And now there is no more ob-
 lation for sin, seeing that by him our sins be remitted, and
 our consciences quieted.
- CHAP. And although in the old testament there were certain
 V. sacrifices, called sacrifices for sin, yet they were no such sa-
 crifices that could take away our sins in the sight of God ;
 but they were ceremonies ordained to this intent, that they
 should be, as it were, shadows and figures, to signify before-
 hand the excellent sacrifice of Christ that was to come,
 which should be the very true and perfect sacrifice for the
 sins of the whole world.

And for this signification they had the name of a sacrifice
 propitiatory, and were called sacrifices for sins, not because
 they indeed took away our sins, but because they were

images, shadows, and figures, whereby godly men were admonished of the true sacrifice of Christ then to come, which should truly abolish sin and everlasting death. CHAP.
V.

And that those sacrifices which were made by the priests in the old law could not be able to purchase our pardon and deserve the remission of our sins, St. Paul doth clearly affirm in his said Epistle to the Hebrews, where he saith, *It is impossible that our sins should be taken away by the blood of oxen and goats.* Heb. ix.

Wherefore all godly men, although they did use those sacrifices ordained of God, yet they did not take them as things of that value and estimation, that thereby they should be able to obtain remission of their sins before God.

But they took them partly for figures and tokens ordained of God, by the which he declared, that he would send that seed which he promised, to be the very true sacrifice for sin, and that he would receive them that trusted in that promise, and remit their sins for the sacrifice after to come.

And partly they used them as certain ceremonies, whereby such persons as had offended against the law of Moses, and were cast out of the congregation, were received again among the people, and declared to be absolved.

As for like purposes we use, in the church of Christ, sacraments by him instituted. And this outward casting out from the people of God, and receiving in again, was according to the law and knowledge of man; but the true reconciliation and forgiveness of sin before God, neither the fathers of the old law had, nor we yet have, but only by the sacrifice of Christ, made in the mount of Calvary. And the sacrifices of the old law were prognostications and figures of the same then to come, as our sacraments be figures and demonstrations of the same now passed.

Now by these foresaid things may every man easily perceive, that the offering of the priest in the mass, or the appointing of his ministration at his pleasure to them that be quick or dead, cannot merit and deserve, neither to himself, nor to them for whom he singeth or sayeth, the remission CHAP.
VI.
The mass is not a sacrifice propitiatory.

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of their sins : but that such popish doctrine is contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel, and injurious to the sacrifice of Christ.

For if only the death of Christ be the oblation, sacrifice, and price, wherefore our sins be pardoned, then the act or ministration of the priest cannot have the same office. Wherefore it is an abominable blasphemy to give that office or dignity to a priest which pertaineth only to Christ ; or to affirm that the Church hath need of any such sacrifice : as who should say, that Christ's sacrifice were not sufficient for the remission of our sins ; or else that his sacrifice should hang upon the sacrifice of a priest.

But all such priests as pretend to be Christ's successors in making a sacrifice of him, they be his most heinous and horrible adversaries. For never no person made a sacrifice of Christ, but he himself only. And therefore St. Paul saith, that *Christ's priesthood cannot pass from him to another*. For what needeth any mo sacrifices, if Christ's sacrifice be perfect and sufficient ? And as St. Paul saith, that if the sacrifices and ministration of Aaron and other priests of that time had lacked nothing, but had been perfect and sufficient, then should not the sacrifice of Christ have been required, (for it had been but in vain to add any thing to that which of itself was perfect ;) so likewise, if Christ's sacrifice which he had made himself be sufficient, what need we every day to have mo and mo sacrifices ? Wherefore all popish priests that presume to make every day a sacrifice of Christ, either must they needs make Christ's sacrifice vain, unperfect, and unsufficient, or else is their sacrifice in vain, which is added to the sacrifice which is already of itself sufficient and perfect.

But it is a wondrous thing to see what shifts and cautels the popish Antichrists devise to colour and cloke their wicked errors. And as a chain is so joined together, that one link draweth another after it ; so be vices and errors knit together, that every one draweth his fellow with him. And so doth it here in this matter.

For the papists to excuse themselves do say, that they

make no new sacrifice, nor none other sacrifice than Christ made; for they be not so blind, but they see that then they should add another sacrifice to Christ's sacrifice, and so make his sacrifice unperfect; but they say, that they make the selfsame sacrifice for sin that Christ himself made.

CHAP.
VII.

A confutation
of the
papists' ca-
villation.

And here they run headlong into the foulest and most heinous error that ever was imagined. For if they make every day the same oblation and sacrifice for sin that Christ himself made, and the oblation that he made was his death and the effusion of his most precious blood upon the cross for our redemption and price of our sins; then followeth it of necessity, that they every day slay Christ and shed his blood: and so be they worse than the wicked Jews and Pharisees, which slew him and shed his blood but once.

Heb. ix.

Almighty God, the Father of light and truth, banish all such darkness and error out of his Church, with the authors and teachers thereof; or else convert their hearts unto him, and give this light of faith to every man, that he may trust to have remission of his sins, and be delivered from eternal death and hell, by the merit only of the death and blood of Christ: and that by his own faith every man may apply the same unto himself, and not take it at the appointment of popish priests, by the merit of their sacrifices and oblations.

CHAP.
VIII.

The true
sacrifice of
all Chris-
tian people.

If we be indeed, as we profess, Christian men, we may ascribe this honour and glory to no man, but to Christ alone. Wherefore let us give the whole laud and praise hereof unto him; let us fly only to him for succour; let us hold him fast, and hang upon him, and give ourselves wholly to him. And forasmuch as he hath given himself to death for us, to be an oblation and sacrifice to his Father for our sins, let us give ourselves again unto him, making unto him an oblation, not of goats, sheep, kine, and other beasts that have no reason, as was accustomed before Christ's coming; but of a creature that hath reason, that is to say, of ourselves, not killing our own bodies, but mortifying the beastly and unreasonable affections that would gladly rule and reign in us.

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V.

Gal. v.

So long as the law did reign, God suffered dumb beasts to be offered unto him ; but now that we be spiritual, we must offer spiritual oblations, in the place of calves, sheep, goats, and doves. We must kill devilish pride, furious anger, insatiable covetousness, filthy lucre, stinking lechery, deadly hatred and malice, foxy wiliness, wolvisb ravening and devouring, and all other unreasonable lusts and desires of the flesh. And as many as belong to Christ must crucify and kill these for Christ's sake, as Christ crucified himself for their sakes.

These be the sacrifices of Christian men ; these hosts and oblations be acceptable to Christ. And as Christ offered himself for us, so is it our duties after this sort to offer ourselves to him again. And so shall we not have the name of Christian men in vain ; but as we pretend to belong to Christ in word and profession, so shall we indeed be his in life and inward affection. So that within and without we shall be altogether his, clean from all hypocrisy or dissimulation. And if we refuse to offer ourselves after this wise unto him, by crucifying our own wills, and committing us wholly to the will of God, we be most unkind people, superstitious hypocrites, or rather unreasonable beasts, worthy to be excluded utterly from all the benefits of Christ's oblation.

CHAP.
IX.

The popish
mass is de-
testable
idolatry,
utterly to
be banished
from all
Christian
congrega-
tions.

And if we put the oblation of the priest in the stead of the oblation of Christ, refusing to receive the sacrament of his body and blood ourselves, as he ordained, and trusting to have remission of our sins by the sacrifice of the priest in the mass, and thereby also to obtain release of the pains in purgatory, we do not only injury to Christ, but also commit most detestable idolatry. For these be but false doctrines, without shame devised and feigned by wicked popish priests, idolaters, monks, and friars, which for lucre have altered and corrupted the most holy Supper of the Lord, and turned it into manifest idolatry. Wherefore all godly men ought with all their heart to refuse and abhor all such blasphemy against the Son of God.

And forasmuch as in such masses is manifest wickedness

and idolatry, wherein the priest alone maketh oblation satisfactory, and applieth the same for the quick and the dead at his will and pleasure; all such popish masses are to be clearly taken away out of Christian Churches, and the true use of the Lord's Supper is to be restored again, wherein godly people assembled together may receive the sacrament every man for himself, to declare that he remembereth what benefit he hath received by the death of Christ, and to testify that he is a member of Christ's body, fed with his flesh, and drinking his blood spiritually.

CHAP.
IX.

Christ did not ordain his sacraments to this use, that one should receive them for another, and the priest for all the lay people; but he ordained them for this intent, that every man should receive them for himself, to ratify, confirm, and stablish his own faith and everlasting salvation. Therefore as one man may not be baptized for another, (and if he be, it availeth nothing,) so ought not one to receive the holy Communion for another. For if a man be dry or hungry, he is never a whit eased, if another man drink or eat for him; or if a man be all befiled, it helpeth him nothing another man to be washed for him: so availeth it nothing to a man, if another man be baptized for him, or be refreshed for him with the meat and drink at the Lord's table. And therefore, said St. Peter, *Let every man be baptized in the name of Jesu Christ.* And our Saviour Christ said to the multitude, *Take, and eat.* And further he said, *Drink you all of this.* Whosoever therefore will be spiritually regenerated in Christ, he must be baptized himself. And he that will live himself by Christ, must by himself eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood.

CHAP.
X.

Every man
ought to re-
ceive the
sacrament
himself,
and not one
for an-
other.

Acts ii.
Matt. xxvi.

And briefly to conclude: he that thinketh to come to the kingdom of Christ himself, must also come to his sacraments himself, and keep his commandments himself, and do all things that pertain to a Christian man and to his vocation himself; lest, if he refer these things to another man to do them for him, the other may with as good right claim the kingdom of heaven for him.

Therefore Christ made no such difference between the

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XI.

The difference be-
tween the
priest and
the layman.

priest and the layman, that the priest should make oblation and sacrifice of Christ for the layman, and eat the Lord's Supper from him all alone, and distribute and apply it as him liketh. Christ made no such difference; but the difference that is between the priest and the layman in this matter is only in the ministration; that the priest, as a common minister of the Church, doth minister and distribute the Lord's Supper unto other, and other receive it at his hands. But the very Supper itself was by Christ instituted and given to the whole Church, not to be offered and eaten of the priest for other men, but by him to be delivered to all that would duly ask it.

As in a prince's house the officers and ministers prepare the table, and yet other, as well as they, eat the meat and drink the drink; so do the priests and ministers prepare the Lord's Supper, read the Gospel, and rehearse Christ's words; but all the people say thereto, Amen; all remember Christ's death, all give thanks to God, all repent and offer themselves an oblation to Christ, all take him for their Lord and Saviour, and spiritually feed upon him; and in token thereof, they eat the bread and drink the wine in his mystical Supper.

The dignity
of priests.

And this nothing diminisheth the estimation and dignity of priesthood and other ministers of the Church, but advanceth and highly commendeth their ministration. For if they are much to be loved, honoured, and esteemed, that be the king's chancellors, judges, officers, and ministers in temporal matters; how much then are they to be esteemed that be ministers of Christ's words and sacraments, and have to them committed the keys of heaven, to let in and shut out, by the ministration of his word and gospel!

CHAP.
XII.

The answer
to the pa-
pists.

Now, forasmuch as I trust that I have plainly enough set forth the propitiatory sacrifice of our Saviour Jesu Christ, to the capacity and comfort of all men that have any understanding of Christ; and have declared also the heinous abomination and idolatry of the popish mass, wherein the priests have taken upon them the office of Christ, to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the people, and I have

also told what manner of sacrifice Christian people ought to make ; it is now necessary to make answer to the subtle persuasions and sophistical cavillations of the papists, whereby they have deceived many a simple man, both learned and unlearned.

CHAP.
XII.

The place of St. Paul unto the Hebrews, which they do cite for their purpose, maketh quite and clean against them. For where St. Paul saith, that *every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins*, he spake not that of the priests of the new testament, but of the old: which, as he saith, offered calves and goats. And yet they were not such priests, that by their offerings and sacrifices they could take away the people's sins, but they were shadows and figures of Christ our everlasting Priest, which only by one oblation of himself taketh away the sins of the world. Wherefore the popish priests that apply this text unto themselves, do directly contrary to the meaning of St. Paul, to the great injury and prejudice of Christ, by whom only, St. Paul saith, that the sacrifice and oblation for the sin of the whole world was accomplished and fulfilled.

And as little serveth for the papists' purpose the text of the prophet Malachi, that *every where should be offered unto God a pure sacrifice and oblation*. For the Prophet in that place spake no word of the mass, nor of any oblation propitiatory to be made by the priests; but he spake of the oblation of all faithful people, in what place soever they be, which offer unto God, with pure hearts and minds, sacrifices of laud and praise: prophesying of the vocation of the Gentiles, that God would extend his mercy unto them, and not be the God only of the Jews, but of all nations from east to west, that with pure faith call upon him and glorify his name.

But the adversaries of Christ gather together a great heap of authors, which, as they say, call the mass, or holy communion, a sacrifice. But all those authors be answered unto in this one sentence, that they called it not a sacrifice for sin, because that it taketh away our sin, which is taken away only by the death of Christ, but because it was ordained of Christ to put us in remembrance of the sa-

CHAP.
XIII.

An answer
to the au-
thors.

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crifice made by him upon the cross. And for that cause it beareth the name of that sacrifice, as St. Augustine declareth plainly in his Epistle *Ad Bonifacium*^b, before rehearsed in this book, p. 384; and in his book *De fide ad Petrum Diaconum*^c, before rehearsed also. And in his book *De Civitate Dei*^d, he saith, "*That which men call a sacrifice, is a sign or representation of the true sacrifice*."

And the Master of the Sentences, of^f whom all the school authors take their occasion to write, judged truly in this point, saying, "That which is offered and consecrated of the priest, is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memory and representation of the true sacrifice and holy oblation, made in the altar of the cross &c."

And St. John Chrysostome^h, after he hath said that Christ is our Bishop which offered that sacrifice that made us clean, and that we offer the same now, lest any man might be deceived by his manner of speaking, he openeth his meaning more plainly, saying, "*That which we do, is done for a remembrance of that which was done by Christ*. For Christ saith, *Do this in remembrance of me*." Also Chrysostome declaring at length, that the priests of the old law offered ever new sacrifices, and changed them from time to time, and that Christian people do not so, but offer ever one sa-

^b Augustinus *Ad Bonifacium*.

^c [This has been proved to be the work of Fulgentius instead of Augustine. See Ed. Bened. tom. vi. App. p. 18.]

^d *De Civitat.* lib. x. cap. 5. ad fin.

^e Idem, *In Psal.* 21. in *Præfatione Expositionis secundæ*. "Passio Domini, (sicut scimus,) semel facta est, semel enim Christus mortuus est, justus pro injustis. Et scimus et certum habemus, et fide immobili retinemus, quia *Christus resurgens a mortuis jam non moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur*. Verba ista Apostoli sunt, tamen ne obliviscamur quod factum est semel, in memoria nostra omni anno fit. Quoties Pascha celebratur, numquid toties Christus moritur? Sed tum anniversaria recordatio quasi repræsentat, quod olim factum est, et sic nos facit moneri, tanquam videamus in cruce pendentem Dominum." EMBD.

^f [The Embden translator, as if dissatisfied with the plainness of Crunmer's language, has added a simile. "Lombardus autem (e cujus scriptis, tanquam ex equo Trojano, omnis scholasticorum turba profluxit) vere hac in causa judicasse videtur." Ed. Embd. fol. 149.]

^g Lombardus, lib. iv. dist. 12.

^h Chrysost. *In Epist. ad Heb. Hom.* 17. [See Gardyner, *Detection*, &c. fol. 87.]

crifice of Christ; yet by and by, lest some men might be offended with this speech, he maketh as it were a correction of his words, saying, "*But rather we make a remembrance of Christ's sacrifice.*" As though he should say; Although in a certain kind of speech we may say, that every day we make a sacrifice of Christ; yet in very deed, to speak properly, we make no sacrifice of him, but only a commemoration and remembrance of that sacrifice, which he alone made, and never none but he. Nor Christ never gave this honour to any creature, that he should make a sacrifice of him, nor did not ordain the sacrament of his holy Supper, to the intent that either the people should sacrifice Christ again, or that the priests should make a sacrifice of him for the people: but his holy Supper was ordained for this purpose, that every man eating and drinking thereof should remember that Christ died for him, and so should exercise his faith, and comfort himself by the remembrance of Christ's benefits; and so give unto Christ most hearty thanks, and give himself also clearly unto him.

Wherefore the ordinance of Christ ought to be followed; the priest to minister the sacrament to the people, and they to use it to their consolation. And in this eating, drinking, and using of the Lord's Supper, we make not of Christ a new sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sin.

But the humble confession of all penitent hearts, their knowledging of Christ's benefits, their thanksgiving for the same, their faith and consolation in Christ, their humble submission and obedience to God's will and commandments, is a sacrifice of laud and praise, accepted and allowed of God no less than the sacrifice of the priest. For Almighty God, without respect of person, accepteth the oblation and sacrifice of priest and lay person, of king and subject, of master and servant, of man and woman, of young and old, yea of English, French, Scot, Greek, Latin, Jew, and Gentile; of every man according to his faithful and obedient heart unto him; and that through the sacrifice propitiatory of Jesu Christ.

The lay persons make a sacrifice as well as the priest.

And as for the saying or singing of mass by the priest, as

BOOK V. it was in time passed used, it is neither a sacrifice propitiatory, nor yet a sacrifice of laud and praise, nor in any wise allowed before God, but abominable and detestable; and thereof may well be verified the saying of Christ, *That thing which seemeth an high thing before men, is an abomination before God.*

The papistical mass is neither a sacrifice propitiatory, nor of thanksgiving.
Luke xvi.

They therefore which gather of the doctors, that the mass is a sacrifice for remission of sin, and that it is applied by the priest to them for whom he saith or singeth; they which so gather of the doctors, do to them most grievous injury and wrong, most falsely belying them.

CHAP. XVI. For these monstrous things were never seen nor known of the old and primitive Church, nor there was not then in

There were no papistical masses in the primitive Church.

one church many masses every day, but upon certain days there was a common table of the Lord's Supper, where a number of people did together receive the body and blood of the Lord: but there were then no daily private masses, where every priest received alone, like as until this day there is none in the Greek churches but one common mass in a day. Nor the holy fathers of the old Church would not have suffered such ungodly and wicked abuses of the Lord's Supper.

But these private masses sprang up of late years, partly through the ignorance and superstition of unlearned monks and friars, which knew not what a sacrifice was, but made of the mass a sacrifice propitiatory, to remit both sin and the pain due for the same; but chiefly they sprang of lucre and gain, when priests found the means to sell masses to the people; which caused masses so much to increase, that every day was said an infinite number, and that no priest would receive the communion at another priest's hand, but every one would receive it alone; neither regarding the godly decree of the most famous and holy Council of Niceⁱ, which appointeth in what order priests should be placed above deacons at the communion; nor yet the Canons of the Apostles^k, which command that when any communion is minis-

ⁱ *Concilium Nicenum*, cap. 14.

^k *Canones Apostolorum*, cap. 8.

tered, all the priests together should receive the same, or else be excommunicate. So much the old fathers mis-
 liked, that any priest should receive the sacrament alone.

CHAP.
XVI.

Therefore when the old fathers called the mass, or Supper of the Lord, a sacrifice, they meant that it was a sacrifice of lauds and thanksgiving, and so as well the people as the priest do sacrifice; or else that it was a remembrance of the very true sacrifice propitiatory of Christ: but they meant in no wise that it is a very true sacrifice for sin, and applicable by the priest to the quick and dead.

For the priest may well minister Christ's words and sacraments to all men both good and bad, but he can apply the benefit of Christ's passion to no man being of age and discretion, but only to such as by their own faith do apply the same unto themselves. So that every man of age and discretion taketh to himself the benefits of Christ's passion, or refuseth them himself, by his own faith, quick or dead; that is to say, by his true and lively faith, that worketh by charity, he receiveth them, or else by his ungodliness or feigned faith rejecteth them.

And this doctrine of the Scripture clearly condemneth the wicked inventions of the papists in these latter days, which have devised a purgatory to torment souls after this life, and oblations of masses said by the priests to deliver them from the said torments; and a great number of other commodities do they promise to the simple ignorant people by their masses.

Now the nature of man being ever prone to idolatry from the beginning of the world, and the papists being ready by all means and policy to defend and extol the mass for their estimation and profit; and the people being superstitiously enamoured and doted upon the mass, because they take it for a present remedy against all manner of evils; and part of the princes being blinded by papistical doctrine, part loving quietness, and loth to offend their clergy and subjects, and all being captive and subject to the Antichrist of Rome; the state of the world remaining in this case, it is no wonder that abuses grew and increased in the Church,

CHAP.
XVII.

The causes
and means
how papist-
ical masses
entered into
the Church.

BOOK
V.

The abuses
of the pa-
pistical
masses.

that superstition with idolatry were taken for godliness and true religion, and that many things were brought in without the authority of Christ :

As purgatory, the oblation and sacrificing of Christ by the priest alone, the application and appointing of the same to such persons as the priest would sing or say mass for, and to such abuses as they could devise, to deliver some from purgatory, and some from hell, if they were not there finally by God determined to abide, as they termed the matter ; to make rain or fair weather, to put away the plague and other sicknesses both from man and beast, to hallow and preserve them that went to Jerusalem, to Rome, to St. James in Compostella, and to other places in pilgrimage ; for a preservative against tempest and thunder, against perils and dangers of the sea ; for a remedy against murrain of cattle, against pensiveness of the heart, and against all manner afflictions and tribulation.

And, finally, they extol their masses far above Christ's passion ; promising many things thereby, which were never promised us by Christ's passion : as that if a man hear mass, he shall lack no bodily sustenance that day, nor nothing necessary for him, nor shall be letted in his journey ; he shall not lose his sight that day, nor die no sudden death ; he shall not wax old in that time that he heareth mass, nor no wicked spirits shall have power of him, be he never so wicked a man, so long as he looketh upon the sacrament. All these foolish and devilish superstitions the papists of their own idle brain have devised of late years, which devices were never known in the old Church.

CHAP.
XVIII.

Which
Church is
to be fol-
lowed.

And yet they cry out against them that profess the Gospel, and say that they dissent from the Church, and would have them to follow the example of their Church. And so would they gladly do, if the papists would follow the first Church of the Apostles, which was most pure and incorrupt ; but the papists have clearly varied from the usage and example of that Church, and have invented new devices of their own brains, and will in no wise consent to follow the primitive Church ; and yet they would have other

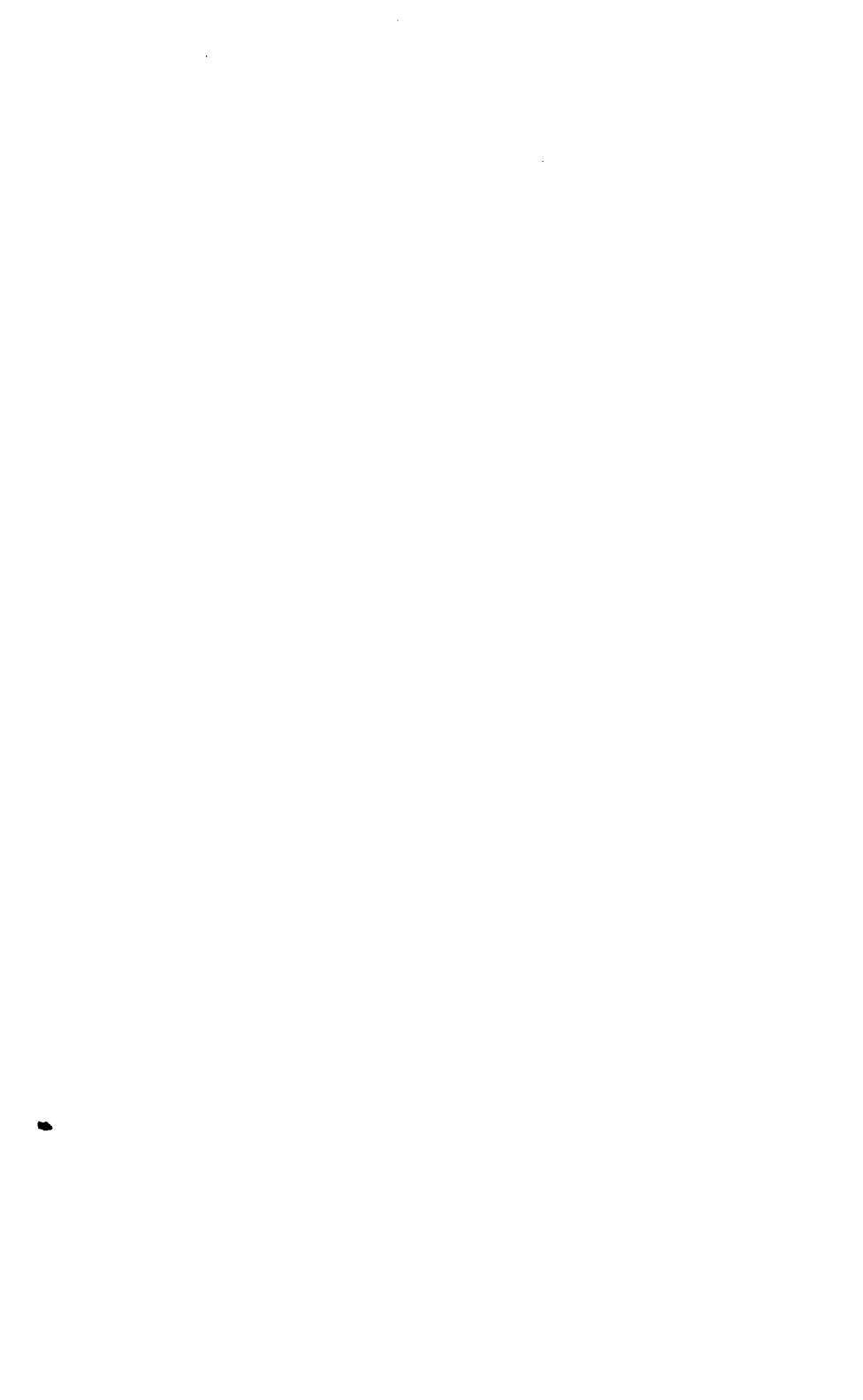
to follow their Church, utterly varying and dissenting from the first most godly Church. CHAP.
XVIII.

But thanks be to the eternal God, the manner of the holy communion, which is now set forth within this realm, is agreeable with the institution of Christ, with St. Paul and the old primitive and apostolic Church, with the right faith of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross for our redemption, and with the true doctrine of our salvation, justification, and remission of all our sins by that only sacrifice.

Now resteth nothing but that all faithful subjects will gladly receive and embrace the same, being sorry for their former ignorance; and every man repenting himself of his offences against God, and amending the same, may yield himself wholly to God, to serve and obey him all the days of his life, and often to come to the holy Supper, which our Lord and Saviour Christ hath prepared; and as he there corporally eateth the very bread, and drinketh the very wine; so spiritually he may feed of the very flesh and blood of Jesu Christ his Saviour and Redeemer, remembering his death, thanking him for his benefits, and looking for none other sacrifice at no priest's hands for remission of his sins, but only trusting to his sacrifice, which being both the High Priest, and also the Lamb of God, prepared from the beginning to take away the sins of the world, offered up himself once for ever in a sacrifice of sweet smell unto his Father, and by the same paid the ransom for the sins of the whole world; who is before us entered into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, as a Patron, Mediator, and Intercessor for us; and there hath prepared places for all them that be lively members of his body, to reign with him for ever, in the glory of his Father; to whom with him, and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

A short instruction to the holy communion.









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